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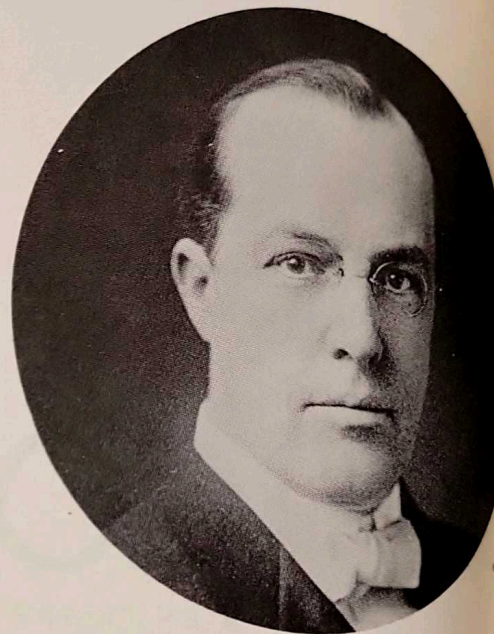
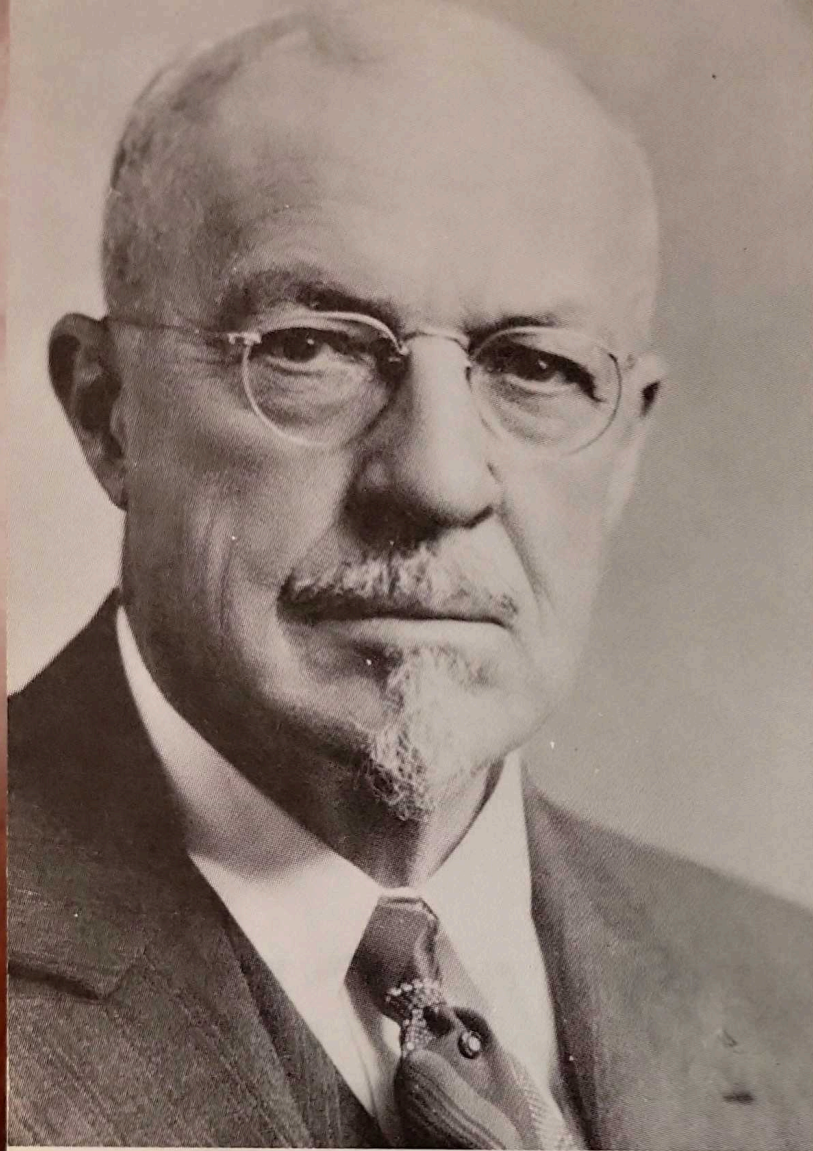
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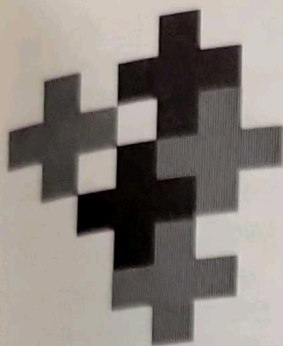
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COURAGE

A JOURNAL OF HISTORY, THOUGHT AND ACTION





Frederick Madison Smith: Saint as Reformer

Larry E. Hunt

Smith was not "ahead of his time," as some present and past members tend to believe; rather he was clearly a product of his own historical nativity, reflecting and reacting to its political, social, economic, intellectual, and religious ferment.

Essentially a blend of the religious utopianism of his grandfather, Joseph Smith, Jr., the "mugwump" reform movement of the Gilded Age, and the social gospel movement of the progressive era, Frederick Madison Smith was the first leader of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints who made any attempt to come to terms with the massive problems and social disorientation created by the new urban-industrial world. During a period increasingly characterized by the growth and dominance of the highly organized, monolithic blocks of collectivistic capitalism, he took a stand that made his church and its membership morally responsible for the Christianization and renewal of the social order.

Yet, Smith was not "ahead of his time," as some present and past members tend to believe;¹ rather, he was clearly a product of his own historical nativity, reflecting and reacting to its political, social, economic, intellectual, and religious ferment. In his attempt to lead his agrarian-oriented and backward-looking religious organization from the nineteenth century into the twentieth, he never lost sight of his grandfather's vision of a literal "Zion,"² a Kingdom of God on earth, an earthly city made heavenly by the individual and collective "righteousness" of its regenerated inhabitants. Such vision in America is as old as John Winthrop's exhortation to his Puritan followers to establish a "city upon a Hill" and as new as the religious communes of the 1970's.

Smith's earlier, formative years (b. 1874) were roughly concurrent with one of the most significant outbursts of reform within American Christianity. Known as the social gospel, this movement coalesced within American Protestantism as that wing of Christianity responded to the radical challenges hurtled into its social system by giant industrial-financial capitalism.³ Deplorable conditions in ex-

panding industrial cities and a series of upheavals manifested in the Railway Strike of 1877 and the Haymarket Riot of 1886, together with the Depression of the 1890's and its concomitant strikes, spectacularly revealed urban poverty, corporate arrogance, and political corruption to American middle-class ministers and parishioners. Intellectual historian Henry F. May referred to these manifestations of social discontent as "earthquakes" that shook loose Protestant leaders from the "complacency" which characterized the preindustrial religious status quo. Protestantism's individualistic mentality, its identification with a laissez faire political and economic order, its equation of the justice of God with the accumulation of wealth, its correlation of sin with unemployment and poverty, and its relegation of labor unions to a status of depravity were shaken from their foundations.⁴ Christian leaders looked across the vacant pews of their congregations and realized that John Calvin's success ethic meant little to workers who were struggling to feed their starving children.

Out of this clerical awakening emerged the social gospel, a religious phenomenon that became the "conscience" of virtually all subsequent social reform. More than any other, this movement created a powerful impetus for social justice among the clergy and developed a reform ideology appropriated by other reformers. The influence of this new, reform-based Christianity lay not in doctrine but in its temperament, emotional depth, and dedication to the Golden Rule. Their sense of God's immanence within human social evolution toward the "Kingdom of God" gave the social gospelers a justification to crusade for the downtrodden in order to achieve divine justice *on earth* as well as in heaven.

The social gospel leaders concurred in their analysis that industrialization had relegated workers to the status of cogs in machines which they (the workers) could not control, thereby intensifying the workers' alienation from the social order. However, these religious reformers were by no means united in their approach to social reform. Early conservative exponents recognized social problems but sought to deal with them without sharply challenging the dominant individualism of the period. Henry Ward Beecher's purpose, for instance, was to bring the workers back into the church from which they had been alienated, awaken them to their sins, encourage their repentance, and point them, along with the equally repentant rich, toward the creation of a more equitable social order.⁵

At the other extreme of the social gospel spectrum were the Christian Socialists, whose mild, evolutionary, non-doctrinaire socialism called for the overthrow of the exploitive capitalistic system by peaceful means. Socialism was a technique whereby the Kingdom of God could be realized. The love of God manifested itself through a platform of reforms extending from government ownership of utilities to women's suffrage. To the Christian Socialist, economic determinism was the foreknowledge of God; and the emergent socialist state was identified with God's kingdom.⁶

Between these conservative and radical extremes were the more

numerous advocates of what Professor May called "progressive social Christianity."⁷ These Protestant divines took the more moderate reformist position epitomized by Walter Rauschenbusch and Washington Gladden, who wanted modification but not replacement of the contemporary economic and social system. Justice for the working classes became the basic goal that they established for their activities; and although these religious zealots were often disappointed because they expected too much too soon, they did help to stimulate the enthusiasm the constituency needed for some of the changes that took place under the name "progressivism" in the latter 1890's and early 1900's.

As a man of diverse interests, Frederick Madison Smith read widely in the field of sociology, social psychology, and religion. He was familiar with the writings of the social gospelers, and some of their basic tenets were frequently expressed in his sermons and lectures.⁸ With the exception of his more literal utopian expectations and his complete reliance upon the individual, regenerated Christian as the instrument of reform, Smith was a fellow traveller with both the middle class "conservative" and "progressive" social Christians, carrying a potpourri of their diagnoses and prescriptions with him in his Latter Day Saint baggage until his death in 1946.

From the time he preached his first eleven-minute, pulpit-pounding sermon in Shenandoah, Iowa, in 1897⁹ to his later years, Smith could rarely deliver a public address or complete an essay without making reference to the phrases "social order" and "stewardship." Because of his increasing social concerns, his communications evolved into a critique of industrial society:

Very large fortunes and luxury are possessed by a small class. . . . The strenuous legal efforts to safeguard private property rather than the general weal have completely upset equality of opportunity [so] that it is a bit farcical to claim its existence for all. . . .¹⁰

Who will deny that to-day the appeal for endeavor is to selfishness? In the school, on the street, in the bank, from the rostrum, from the pulpit the appeal is largely, to the selfish instinct. . . . Service is urged, but in the line yielding the largest returns to the individual . . . for the power it brings. . . .¹¹

Not only was "selfishness" triumphant everywhere, but "ruthless competition" among those selfish interests had led to a polarization between capital and labor. Capital in the form of Rockefellers and Carnegies had appropriated a larger share than necessary for its normal expansion, while labor ceaselessly toiled "for the mere privilege of existing."¹²

As did Gladden and Rauschenbusch,¹³ Smith devoted many hours and much writing space to the labor problem of his own time. In the 1930's, for instance, he saw the poverty and sensed the "fear of dependency in the laboring class" that impelled them toward a collision with capital:

Poverty, looking through the mists of misery, glimpsing the luxurious extravagance of opulence, has in resentment engendered hatred, jealousy, and smouldering desire for revenge. Class consciousness, aroused by the evidence of disparity, is easily fanned into class hatred . . . especially when the pinch of poverty, the hungry cry of loved ones, the moan of the undernourished, unsuccessful sick augment the efforts toward discord.¹⁴

This observation was not a new one for Smith. As early as the strikes and "red scare" of 1919 he saw "evidences on every hand" that American social solidarity was threatened "... by that spirit of discontent, of anarchy, of bolshevism, or whatever you wish to call it."¹⁵ During the depression of 1920-21 he noted the rising bitterness of labor as well as its organization into powerful unions determined to alleviate their subservient conditions and expressed a fear that clash was "inevitable."¹⁶ Even in the prosperous years of the 1920's he had reservations concerning the "safety" of industrial society when he considered the maldistribution of national income during the period.¹⁷ In the 1930's, reflecting the crisis orientation of the great depression, he felt that the time of reckoning had arrived. Social security, charity, and private philanthropy had proven inadequate to meet the needs of the unemployed or those otherwise incapacitated by sickness, age, accident, or indebtedness; and capital as well as labor seemed equally intransigent.¹⁸ Revolution was imminent.

In this capital-labor struggle, Smith was certainly far from being an avidly pro-labor churchman. Similar to Walter Rauschenbusch, he envisioned for the future not a classless or a labor-dominated society but one in which all classes and interests would coexist *in their place* once the social order had been Christianized. Adhering to moral suasion as his basic reform technique, neither man looked with favor upon labor's own collective instruments of immediate change and advancement—the strike and the boycott. Smith differed from Rauschenbusch, however, in that he rejected using (only) the working classes as the spearhead for social change, and he substituted the cooperation of enlightened individuals, regardless of class, as reform's catalytic agent.¹⁹

Those most affected in capital-labor disputes, those who "paid the bill" coming from any industrial settlement were the consumers, who represented all segments of society. Smith pleaded for the consumer, who paid higher prices for goods and services as a result of industrial confrontation but was not represented at the bargaining table. Herein Smith departed from a labor-oriented social gospel.

Must not

... society at large, which includes the laboring man and the capitalist, as well as the great body of consumers ... have justice shown to it? Who will deny that it is the duty of the church to stand for universal justice?²⁰

Concurring with Washington Gladden that the ultimate foundation of society was in religion,²¹ Smith charged his followers to "... spiritualize all society and to carry the factor of spirituality which brings life to humanity into all the activities of men."²² Jesus, the founder of the faith, transcended the inherent egoism of the Mosaic code and provided a different basis for human interaction with the new, altruistic commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Christianity had thus socialized the Jewish tradition.²³ Now, Smith affirmed, it was the duty of the Church to develop and promote a new social consciousness based upon altruism and to actively campaign for social reform:

To discharge this responsibility the church must be something more than a Sunday entertainment society, something more than a performer of ceremonials, or a funeral home. The pulpit must stand for social reform, denounce selfishness in all forms and in all places, in persons highly placed as well as among the lowly, and free itself from the charge of being subservient to the interests entrenched behind the bulwarks of individualism.²⁴

No longer could the Christian be content to piously laud the mystical appearance of the Kingdom of God within the individual; the Kingdom of God was to come in the form of "... a regenerated and ideal society where righteousness prevails and justice walks unhampered."²⁵ The "stalwarts of the kingdom," Smith explained, might "even have to enter politics" to achieve this kind of social reform wherein "... wealth is pervasive and not the heritage of a privileged class."²⁶ Only through saintly involvement could the social reforms prepared by collective organizations or the state escape the taint of selfishness and greed.²⁷

Smith defined one of the most important tasks of the Christian church as that of isolating, preserving, and vitalizing the positive attributes of communism, capitalism, and socialism through an effective and integrated program of social reform. Government regulation of business, minimum-wage laws, social welfare programs, and "panaceas" such as Henry George's single tax were merely "palliative" and did not cut into the core of a corrupt and unjust social order.²⁸

In response to social need as he understood it, the RLDS president developed his own unique reform synthesis. Individual, regenerated Latter Day Saints, whether they be capitalists, laborers, or consumers, were responsible for the godly, disciplined use of their resources, talents, time, and energy. Because they had caught a vision of the Kingdom of God, the Saints also voluntarily donated their economic surpluses (earnings or assets above individual basic needs and legitimate, Christian wants) for the benefit of the "Commonwealth community." The ultimate result of this process of Christian voluntarism, which Smith labeled "stewardship," was a literal Kingdom of God wherein economic and social justice prevailed.²⁹

The prime duty of individuals in this ideal society was to serve the group, and the benefits of the resources and efforts they contributed returned to them through the common uplift. Success, as such, was measured by the amount and quality of resources contributed to the public welfare.³⁰ Taking his cue from a subtitle on an old *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, Smith adopted a short, pithy definition for his stewardship process: "'From every man according to his capacity; to every man according to his needs.'"³¹ This new order, however, meant not levelled equality, but "... equality of opportunity, equality of expression, and contribution according to capacity."³²

These were the social ideals for which he believed his church was striving, and only the conscience compelled people to participate. The "supreme directional control" that moved an individual to accede to such discipline was "his own direct sense of responsibility to God and his fellow men."³³

Smith sincerely believed that actualization of the new order, or "Zion," was a specific responsibility of the Latter Day Saints³⁴ but that the process would also benefit the world and provide a place of refuge and safety for those who wanted to escape the dangers of increasing social evil and unrest.

Rauschenbush, too, dreamed of a Kingdom of God; and he conceptualized it as ethereally as Smith. The kingdom Rauschenbush defined was "humanity organized according to the will of God," and since "love is the supreme law of Christ, the Kingdom of God implies a progressive reign of love in human affairs."³⁵ Both men believed, however, that the kingdom could not be fully realized until society had first been brought into harmony with basic Christian ethics; and for that goal they committed themselves to social reform through moral suasion.

Many Latter Day Saints did not appreciate Smith's amalgam of the social gospel, and some of the good brothers sent him notes of caution lest he corrupt the membership with his "socialism."³⁶ To these he replied consistently that the stewardship he preached was not socialism nor communism but an order wherein private property and private responsibility continued to be functional for social, not individual, ends. He also argued that the rule of "all things common" did not apply in Zion; only the surpluses freely given became common property.³⁷

Although Smith was a type of social gospeler, his concept of social change was based in the ante bellum belief that the individual, moral Christian would consecrate his or her surpluses to build the new kingdom. Indeed, the controlling assumption underlying his doctoral dissertation was that individual character, innate ability, and the "strength of the race" far outweighed environmental factors in determining the course of life and society.³⁸ President G. Stanley Hall, his mentor in the field of social psychology at Clark University, shared and encouraged that assumption. Neither teacher nor student had any doubt that there was a deeper nature of homo sapiens appearing "... in such varied phenomena as inspiration, whether thought to be due to the Holy Ghost or to a muse," and evident "... in all superlative achievements of man in every domain. . . ."³⁹ Only when the individual Christian had caught the "... ecstatic vision of the great Possibilities" could there be "... liberated within him the forces which will under intelligent control bring out the best in him."⁴⁰ But Smith hastened to add that devotion to a cause was empty without hours and years of ceaseless work. Work, the expenditure of energy, together with dedication to a sublime cause was the greatest means of eliminating waste and insuring efficiency in the kingdom-building effort.⁴¹

In this instance, Smith was more reminiscent of the older, ante bellum reformer⁴² than he was similar to Rauschenbusch. Because the latter found sin a "super-personal" force transmitted through the *environment* from the parents to the children, he directed his attack against the social institutions that perpetuated evil rather than attempt to precipitate change through awakening individual Christians.⁴³ Since Smith relied upon the individual sense of responsi-

bility of the regenerated Saint rather than state or collective action against a collective enemy, he was not in that grand parade of reformer-thinkers who marched to the environmental tune labelled by one historian as "reform-darwinism."⁴⁴

Beyond the religious questions he considered so seriously, Smith also commented frequently on other leading issues of his day. With an occasional exception, his response to contemporary social, economic, and political questions was close to that of the middle-class "progressive" described by American historians in the 1950's.⁴⁵ These historians viewed the progressive era (1890-1920) as a period in which middle-class businessmen, professionals, and other elites, saturated with guilt and shaken by mass anxiety as they faced inundation by the institutions of giant, industrial society, responded with a series of "reforms" that were calculated to preserve their class and salvage what they considered to be the older moralistic basis of America. Their endeavors, however, culminated in such non-reform as prohibition, immigration restriction, and campaigns for clean local government—"getting the rascals out" and replacing them with "good men" who would cleanse the system—rather than attempting to discipline and control the corporate interests which backed those "rascals." This approach to American reform history has been severely criticized by contemporary historians as an inadequate interpretation of progressivism. What the historians of the 1950's called progressivism, historians of the 60's and 70's regard not as a picture of progressivism but as a description of an older Gilded Age reform motif known as "mugwumpery."⁴⁶

Mugwump reformers held firmly to their faith in the perfectability of the individual and appealed directly to the consciousness of individual men and women to awaken them to their reform responsibility. Too, they had grave doubts about the permanency of political answers to problems; and, rather than rely on class pressures or statutory law, they looked to the older techniques of moral suasion and education to maintain social harmony and Victorian morality.⁴⁷ With the notable exceptions that he did not possess their distaste for subordinating the interests of the individual, home, and family to the needs of the group and that he found the roots of evil in the selfish interests of all groups and classes rather than in the solitary figure of a partisan politician, Smith fit this mold ascribed to the mugwump reformer.

At a meeting of the Independence, Missouri, Men's League in 1910, Smith bemoaned that American municipalities were among the worst governed in the world because there was little cooperation between the moral or religious elements within those communities. Consequently, "... politicians and citizens of low moral standards" reaped the spoils because they had earlier learned to cooperate to control civic affairs.⁴⁸ He urged religious cooperation within communities in order to "... speedily decapitate the hydra-headed monster, civic graft, that greatest of curses in American government today."⁴⁹ Forms of local government, whether they be commissioner-manager or old ward system, mattered little. What did matter was

religious elements in order to purge the system of its evil. He urged his fellow citizens to "... actively and intelligently cooperate against the forces of graft and community vice and it will not be long until America's cities would be the best governed in the world, not the worst."⁵⁰ Also, he encouraged the membership of his church to "already work in local politics to preserve cleanliness in areas not 'already besmirched,' and to "... undertake the herculean task of cleaning up politics where they have already become rotten."⁵¹ Albeit these remarks were delivered in the best of ecumenical and civic spirits, Smith made no specific recommendations regarding the mechanics of Christian cooperation, nor did he delineate how such cooperation would effectively alter the power relationships between "interests" and government which existed on the local level or how a constituency for change could be produced and used by religious elites to destroy corruption in "high places."

Throughout his public utterances in the last half of the decade of the 1920's Smith consistently reacted against what he considered to be an emergent social disorganization and disrespect for authority. Everywhere, he felt, governments were in turmoil and forces of disintegration were at work. Revolutionaries and "short-sighted reformers" put their "marring hands" against every institution "... with no regard being given to the direful consequences which will follow; for law is based on authority, and disrespect for authority breeds disobedience to law, and disobedience to law spells social dissolution."⁵² In the tradition of his father and grandfather, Smith sustained the legitimacy of American constitutional law and held that governments had been instituted by divine power for the benefit of men.⁵³ Civil libertarians had too often used "liberty of speech" to justify license under the guise of freedom; and the baneful result, Smith feared, was anarchy.⁵⁴ Not only did Smith deplore the rising incidence of crime in the decade⁵⁵ but he excoriated the powerfully rich whose greed impelled them to step beyond the bounds of the law, dishonor the courts, and laugh at government.⁵⁶ He was convinced that the public safety and liberty of the United States rested in obedience to law and that it was one of the prime duties of a minister to promote respect for duly constituted authority. Even though obedience to law implied restriction of personal liberty, it was the only ultimate source of public security.⁵⁷

Smith was fully cognizant of the totalitarian dangers that could spring from the abuse of power by those who used political position as an instrument of personal aggrandizement,⁵⁸ but he tenaciously advocated that the more immediate danger was flagrant violation of the law by those who would be a "law unto themselves" and destroy social harmony. He hoped that Latter Day Saints would find themselves

... standing four square for law enforcement and helping our magistrates so inclined to carry through to a successful administration of the law and the punishment of violators thereof. Our ideals of the past demand it. To reach our

goals will demand that we demonstrate our love for law and order and our respect for the properly constituted authority and the conventions and safeguards of society. . . . Every man a worker and every man a law-abiding and useful citizen.⁵⁹

Considering the widespread violations of the Eighteenth Amendment in the 1920's and early 1930's, one can understand why Smith desired law and order so intensely.

Middle-class reformers had long supported the movement toward prohibition not only because they believed that removal of the liquor evil would relieve the poverty of the working classes, uplift them morally, and eradicate the causes of vice but that it would also curb the power of plutocracy by destroying the liquor "interest" and remove the causes of political corruption and graft by the most direct front for the local political boss: the saloon.⁶⁰ Smith wholly concurred with this sentiment. As early as 1914 he encouraged Latter Day Saints and citizens of Independence, Missouri, to vote "dry" in the local election because the use of alcohol and saloon patronage was followed by poverty, crime, and "racial degeneracy."⁶¹ It was the duty of the Saint to vote against the liquor industry at all times:

. . . If I have any influence on you I want every Latter Day Saint to go to the polls and vote for a dry town in the most emphatic manner. We should be lined up constantly against the saloon. . . . For every dollar we get from the saloon we pay from two to four dollars to care for the consequences.

He further cautioned that the "wets" may try to ". . . steal the vote of the fourth ward if they cannot get it any other way, and it is for us to see that they don't."⁶² When prohibition was enacted nationally, Smith favored vigorous enforcement of the law if the "noble experiment" was to successfully demonstrate its value to the American populace.⁶³

Absolutely sure that the church had a pivotal role in assuring the moral progress of the country,⁶⁴ Smith all but endorsed Herbert Hoover as the candidate for the Saints over Governor Alfred Smith in the Presidential election of 1928. Hoover was a trained engineer of broad experience, who took a scholarly, "scientific" approach to all problems and was therefore lifted beyond the realm of provincial politics to statesmanship. Governor Smith, however, had chosen the field of politics as a profession and adeptly fought the fierce political battles east of the Hudson River; but he knew little of the requisites of statesmanship. Whereas Hoover stood firmly on the party's platform to enforce the prohibition laws on the sale and manufacture of liquor, the Governor repudiated the Democratic platform, took a "wet" stand, and called for modification of existing law. Because the Saints were well-known prohibitionists and concerned about social improvement, the Latter Day Saint president presumed that they would cast their votes for Hoover in this "battle royal between a politician and an engineer."⁶⁵ He was elated with Hoover's victory and his subsequent attempts to enforce the law. Although national prohibition ended in the early 1930's, he continued to be its staunch supporter on the local level for the rest of his life.⁶⁶

Even though it roared mightily, the decade of the 1920's did not

disturb Smith's faith in social convention. The lessening sexual restraints of the early twentieth century and rising illegitimacy threatened the "... foundation and roots in that which has been set up to defend and protect society against disintegration. . . ." ⁶⁷ He warned the youth of the church to avoid such modern dances as the Fox Trot, Charleston, or Chicken Flip and boycott the entire jazz culture. Otherwise, they would be led into environments where saintly lives might be compromised. ⁶⁸ Dress fashions of the day also evoked critical reactions from Smith, who expressed shock that the Saints were becoming slaves to the fashion designers of New York and Paris—people "who have forgotten God." He had little admiration for the attire of the free-living "flapper," but his judgment was not restricted to that sex, for he observed that "... men are as much slaves to fashion as are women; witness the balloon trousers, not to say anything about the starched collars." ⁶⁹ "Need and just want," not wealth, status, or the desire to imitate, should determine the degree of "personal adornment" of those who would build the kingdom. ⁷⁰

Smith's denunciations went beyond attire, personal immorality, and the "crime of jazz" ⁷¹ to include the literary, graphic, and three-dimensional arts of the decade:

The principles of our classic music have been violated. . . . The old rhythm of poetry has been distorted, and today the greatest license is taken in free verse. Literature, which it was the universal determination to keep clean and pure, has grown in indecency and license until even history and biography have been entered by writers of the muck-raking variety, and the most scurrilous things pass off under the head of biography and history. Everywhere the revolt against authority is apparent. ⁷²

In January, 1923, he pleaded with the Kansas City Fine Arts Institute for the purification of art and literature and called for a return to the dedication and perfection that was Michaelangelo's. Literature, particularly, suffered from a "paucity of ideas" hidden "beneath the modernity of style." ⁷³ Contemporary writers pandered to publishers who were "... greedy to supply the people's maw with loads of trashy literature" ⁷⁴ for commercial gain. The short story, the novel, and even the cartoon had all succumbed to the commercial blight. Writers no longer applied their talent under the creative urge but pushed their pens only for gain. Before the end of that same year he advised the Kansas City Quill Club of a needed exodus from the "literary fleshpots of Egypt" into the promised land long since vacated by Michaelangelo; the club should maintain the high standards of those who know the ideals of true art and detest the inroads of greed. Members should "... stand ready to nourish genius and denounce the prostitution of a holy calling . . . [and] encourage artistic story building and the divine sport of versification for the pure love of it." ⁷⁵

Ever the dilettante, Smith demonstrated his "pure love" of literature by trying his hand at criticism in a 1933 radio lecture centering upon Edgar Allen Poe's *The Raven*. According to Smith's judgment, this poem was one of the author's best literary productions. Its structure and style clearly illustrated to him "mechanical

and literary perfection," but its enduring value was the "sense of having stood in holy places" that it imparted to the reader.⁷⁶ The poem revealed, he believed, a deep remorse that accompanied infidelity to higher ideals—a more profound remorse than that produced by lack of faith to friendship, vows, or to morals. The maiden in the poem symbolized those lofty, higher ideals; and the raven was infidelity to them and awareness of their irretrievable loss. "Nevermore" would the raven of infidelity leave the presence of the fallen narrator.

Conditioned to thinking in terms of moral absolutes, Smith's mind encapsulated the poem as one that elucidated the despair of those who failed to transcend ever present evils and prostituted their highest aspirations. To Smith, great literature always held such lessons of moral excellence and provided a "glimpse of what is not often revealed to man." Poe had laid bare his great genius, but the world had only partially grasped the significance of the poet and the meaning of his masterpiece. Through education the world might come to appreciate the deeper meaning in the arts.⁷⁷

Education as such was one of the primary means through which Smith envisioned regenerate Saints fulfilling their stewardship and developing their talents.⁷⁸ His faith in education was demonstrated by his own academic career, which arose from his desire to assist the purposes of the church and climaxed in a Ph.D. degree from Clark University in 1916. He earlier pursued and completed a master's degree in sociology at Kansas University because he wanted to interpret his grandfather's church to a world that grossly misunderstood and misrepresented its practical social message.⁷⁹ How a study of the Indian Peyote cult assisted him in that purpose he never publicly explained,⁸⁰ but his aging father, Joseph Smith, expressed confidence in young Smith's practicality when he congratulated his son for receiving his degree: "I am proud; and I know, my son, that you will not let them make of you a 'learned incapable!'"⁸¹

As leader of the church, Smith hoped that every Saint would receive a form of higher education, but he asked that programs followed by each individual be selected "technically and methodically." There were too many "misfits" in the social and economic world because choice of vocation had been left up to individual caprice rather than reliance on a scientific and socially purposive method. In lieu of *laissez faire* in education, qualified church leaders should assist the membership in choosing a vocation that would fit their own abilities and the needs of the Kingdom.⁸²

Ministerial responsibility did not end with vocational guidance, however. The Christian leader must respond to the intellectual tides of the day, to put the "wholesale skepticism" and the higher criticism in proper perspective. If young people were thoroughly immersed from their childhood in the "eternal verities," they would quickly recognize the strengths and weaknesses of the materialistic philosophy they confronted in the classroom and therefore not "lose faith to education."⁸³

As a Christian scholar, Smith saw little conflict between "true science and true religion." He felt that, for those who gained

scientific knowledge and yet clung to their religion, apparent contradictions between these two paths to truth would eventually be harmonized by increasing research or divine revelation.⁸⁴ His own studies and revelation led him to the conclusion that the Darwinian and biblical accounts of "creation" embodied "... not two historical truths but two juxtaposed systems which apparently contradict but which really meet, for they are both theological."⁸⁵

Scholarly pretensions notwithstanding, Smith never really understood the biological evolutionary hypothesis that Darwin developed and clearly stated in 1860. Smith misread Darwin as indicating that man's origin was in a monkey and not in the common ancestor to both. When he referred to "evolution," Smith meant the social, not biological process; and he was never clear about that which he considered to be the important determinant forces in the development of civilization.⁸⁶ One is left to assume from his statements in other areas that moral elements, or the lack of them, were the primary determinants of the course of social evolution.

From paternal elitism in education Smith moved to benevolent chauvinism when confronted with contemporary feminist movements. He halfheartedly supported women's crusades for the right to vote until the Nineteenth Amendment became a part of the Constitution in 1920, but he had scant sympathy for any movements that tended to loosen the ties of women to marriage, home, and family.⁸⁷ Fearful that emancipation of the moral guardians of the race would cause social chaos and conversion of the home into a dormitory, Smith counseled the Saints to stay in the forefront of the feminist movement and direct it into "safe channels."⁸⁸

Basically, he regarded women as the more contemplative and passive of the species while men had energetic natures that transformed mere contemplation into practical, useful work. Women and "men of the feminine type," however, possessed a particularly deep sensitivity to the divine impulse that inspired reverence and worship: "The woman loves God with more carnality, tenderness, passion; the man with devotion, reverence, with more intelligence than love." Ignoring the most obvious example of Lord Byron, Smith went on to pontificate that it was "... a law of fate that high sensitivity hinders activity, and seldom are poets men of action."⁸⁹

Fundamentally, a "woman as woman" could reach fulfillment only as a mother, and Smith scaled the heights of sentimentality in an attempt to illustrate the glories of motherhood in his dissertation: Motherliness is passion and destiny, love and sacrifice, exertion of thought and offering of the feelings; she is a human creature who offers creatures who live after her; she is the present which brings forth the future ... who, then, can fancy the warm glow of the mother who looks upon her own creature. In her gaze is her soul, she is all smiles, all joy, and the ecstasy is great and complete, at once aesthetic and lovely. It is disturbed only by the agitation of the trembling hands which moving to and fro would become a single caress. These hand-pats are so vigorous that they become blows; the kisses so fiery that they approximate bites. As the child sleeps in the shelter of the motherly gaze, the ecstasy of the mother continues quietly. Eyes fixed upon their object, breath accelerated to synchronize with the breathing of the child, a childish sigh is answered by one from the mother, a sleep-impelled smile upon its lips, is

reflected on the mother's lips. Heads together, the two lives represent the interlacing of present and future.⁹⁰

Woman as producer of the race thus fascinated Smith, but his admiration carried into other productive fields as well. He appreciated technology and in his early years had ambitions to be an electrical engineer. Although he forsook that ambition for increasing church responsibility, some of the chief delights of his life came from his experience with tools and machinery. He was ecstatic when en route to Lamoni, Iowa, from Pittsburgh the freight engineer allowed him to stoke the fire and run the steam locomotive part of the distance. As a resident of Lamoni in his younger years, he reorganized and rebuilt the local telephone service after it was destroyed by an ice storm, participated in city planning projects, and delivered his own homemade slide lectures on fly-borne disease and its connection to the city dump.⁹¹

Enamored as he was with better and more efficient machines, he did not identify with the euphoric business culture that appropriated the technological advancement of the 1920's. Modern business and industry had so permeated society with its methods that churches and churchmen did not escape its spirit of soulless efficiency.⁹² When Bruce Barton published his paean to business enterprise showing Jesus as one of history's greatest salesmen and corporate organizers,⁹³ Smith continued to look with more reverence to the Jesus who drove the money changers from the temple and cautioned his people to invest wisely in order to avoid the consequences of a business-dominated society, an industrial depression.⁹⁴

Social welfare policies from the private "welfare capitalism" so popular in the 1920's to those in the patchwork quilt of the New Deal were found wanting when Smith weighed them in stewardship balances. Shortly after World War I he visited England and saw hundreds of jobless people in the streets, existing on a government "dole" of a few pennies a day. Anticipating the sentiment of Herbert Hoover a decade beyond, Smith commented on these people he saw engaged in the struggle over garbage cans: "Their moral stamina was being undermined; their self-respect was being destroyed. . . . England has been guilty of an egregious blunder."⁹⁵ All that any "red-blooded" man or woman wanted, he assumed, was the equal chance to take care of him- or herself.⁹⁶

New Deal policies formulated by the Washington "Brain Trust" to relieve the immediate needs created by the depression were more likely to increase dependency and accrue a huge national debt, which would also increase tax burdens. Smith recognized that American wealth needed redistribution, but he felt that any coercive attempts to "swat the rich" through confiscatory taxation was wrong because the laws of the United States were structured to facilitate the accumulation of wealth. State extortion of the wealthy through "class taxation" was not the honorable way to share the wealth of America: "The day of Robin Hood is past, and his realm was always narrowly limited."⁹⁷

Instead of confiscation as a means of redistributing wealth and promoting the larger humanitarian obligations of material and

spiritual aid to the needy, Smith offered his own plan of stewardship and its concomitant, the socialization of surpluses voluntarily contributed in the interests of the common good.⁹⁸ This "Zionist" plan, with its voluntary, "righteous" surrender of surplus riches, obviated the need for social security, old-age pensions, and unjust taxation. Smith hoped that American reform would move away from New Eras and New Deals and toward the development of the "individual righteousness" which in turn would create a "fraternal consciousness of brotherly responsibility."⁹⁹ As knight errant for the Kingdom of God, Smith preferred to tilt the lance of an elusive voluntarism rather than use the sword, mace, or rapier in the close-in fighting required for smaller, more direct and effective gains in social welfare.

Stewardship applied to international relations as much as it did to domestic problems. In the years immediately preceding World War II, Smith observed that the world's nations had drunk too deeply from the flask of godless nationalism; and he feared that the narrow interests inspired by that nationalism would expand local conflicts into a general war.¹⁰⁰ National traits were, after all, merely individual ones "written large"; and the selfishness that manifested itself in individual and industrial relationships was also inherent in international diplomacy. Eventually, the intense economic competition which resulted from such selfishness brought war:

It has been stated by some economists that besides freedom of the seas, the right of international barter and trade, etc., there are about a score and a half elements or substances which are of prime essentiality to independence. . . . Of these no nation can produce all or find all within its boundaries. Only a few have a large majority of them, while many have less than half; and quite a number of even the major powers have only a few. Those which have not, must in some way secure what they lack. . . . When conditions become so disturbed that trade courses are broken or disrupted, or when tariff barriers become impractical hurdles, then national solidarity and security become threatened, and nations so threatened are tempted to resort to drastic measures sometimes not even short of war. War is thus resorted to in order to *take* what it could not otherwise secure.¹⁰¹

During the first year of the war Smith expressed sympathy for the oppressed peoples and defenseless citizens who were bitten by the iron teeth of the dogs of war. He was horrified that the nations of the enlightened twentieth century could be as brutal as those of the Dark Ages, and with the disclosure of the persecution of Jews in Germany he admitted that Americans ". . . might for the time being at least, submerge our feelings of good will toward the Germans."¹⁰² The Saints were advised that war's confusion and ruthless devastation had been presaged in prophetic writings and that it was their particular responsibility to work for world peace by removing the cause of war and illustrating in concrete form the social application of Christianity in Zion, the Kingdom of God.¹⁰³ When the United States entered the war with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Smith's faith in the mission of the church never wavered: ". . . It is no time for us to lose faith in the goals of the church; for the purposes of the Almighty will not be frustrated, and our divinely imposed tasks still weigh upon us as responsibilities which must be

discharged."¹⁰⁴ Since the church traditions favored constitutional, democratic and republican forms of government, especially that of the United States, Saints were directed to loyally support their country in its attempt to universalize those principles through a just war.¹⁰⁵

Because war was ultimately attributable to the failure of Christianity to regenerate the social order locally and generally, Smith believed that the time had come for an "all out" mobilization of the powers of religious force for the purpose of engendering a non-vindictive and lasting peace. Curiously ignoring the Soviet Union, a key element in the United Nations, he directed this challenge to "America and Great Britain" and "the other English-speaking peoples" who were going to determine the nature of settlement.¹⁰⁶ The divisive forces apparent before December 7, he cautioned, were not yet vanquished and would reappear during the postwar years if the stipulations of the peace were founded in revenge and hatred.¹⁰⁷ Bright hopes engendered by international democratic principles in the Atlantic Charter and the Allied conferences at Quebec and Teheran were tainted by the mistrust and national self-interest emerging at Dumbarton Oaks, Yalta, and Chapultapec.

It was Smith's conviction that the true elements of Christian peace were not materially different from those of the individual as he functioned in the "social fabric of which he is a thread."¹⁰⁸ As the individual surrendered rights detrimental to the group in which he associated, so must nations surrender rights and prerogatives dear to them if the friction and heat that generated conflict were to be avoided.

Under the guidance of the benevolent, brotherly principles of the gospel of Christ, nations as well as individuals could allay "racial and national hatreds and prejudices" and avoid the dangers of power politics.¹⁰⁹ Consistent with himself, Smith counseled his church that it should ceaselessly endeavor to work and pray for these factors to be present at the peace table, "... for a godless treaty, one devoid of the principles of brotherliness, will be but a pause before more war. We are our brother's keeper, for of one blood hath God made the nations of the world."¹¹⁰

Presumably, however, the blood of some of those nations was better than others. His persistent reliance on the "English-speaking peoples" as God's instrument of peace, to the exclusion of the Soviet Union, nullifies the adamant universalism of Smith as a Christian peacemaker.

As a reformer, Smith attempted to step gingerly from one century into another, but his muddy-booted hind leg sunk ever deeper into the conservative mire of the nineteenth century while his advanced foot carefully tapped the earth to avoid the filth-laden areas of the twentieth century. He was an eclectic who picked and chose from contemporary issues and answered them from the perspective of the nineteenth century. A Latter Day Saint first and foremost, he allowed church traditions and dogma, rigidified early in life, to overshadow his scholarship, qualify his social gospel, limit his

reformism, confirm his elitism, and determine the course of his life and thought.

Effective reformers were content with less-than-ultimate, imperfect, partial-but-achievable goals in the "real" world. Smith, on the other hand, rejected the collective and state action urged by such reformers of the populist-progressive era, and in its place he substituted a mugwump reliance on the individual initiative or "stewardship" of the regenerated Christian. The social ends he envisioned were noble indeed, but the means he lauded to achieve them were the stuff from which dreams are made.

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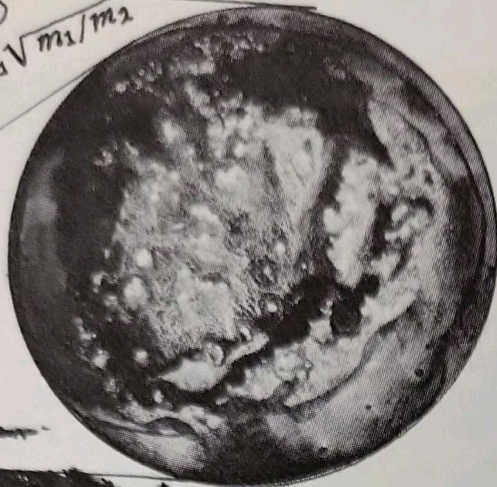
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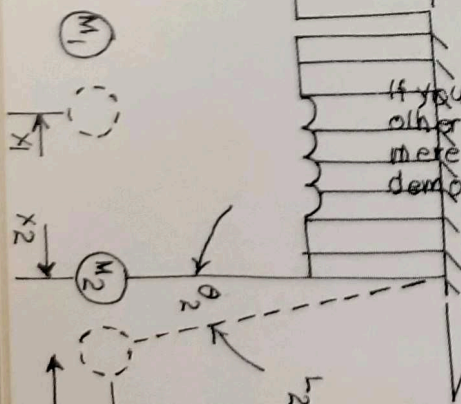
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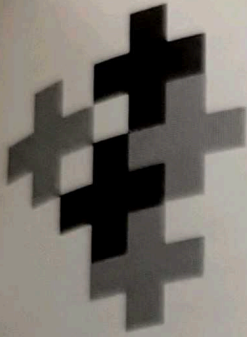
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forward presentation, logical organization
clear exposition.



The Development of the New Testament Church From Ecclesia to Institution According to Rudolf Bultmann*

Bob Mesle

Perhaps one of the major errors in Restoration thinking is the belief in a given church organization and authority, ordered by the historical Jesus, which can be re-created or restored.

I. The Problem

What is conceived in ecstasy must be reduced to form, doctrine, ritual and organization in order to perpetuate itself. The tension between organization and inspiration—between priest and prophet—lasts throughout the life of a religion.¹

The dialectical tension which Bernard A. Wiesberger speaks of in this passage is so fundamental that Paul Tillich includes it in his *Systematic Theology* as one of the three pairs of "Ontological Elements."² That is to say, in Tillich's mind the poles of "Dynamics and Form" are parts of the very structure of existence. "There is no being without form." But "every form forms something." The verb "forms" means here not "creates" but rather "gives form [or structure] to." Every form gives structure to something other than the form itself. "The question is: What is this 'something?'" Tillich calls it dynamics, but we can as well call it spirit for our specific purposes. The nature of the relationship between spirit and form is such that even though the spirit must assume form in order to exist in the world, it loses something of its reality as pure spirit when it is forced to take on that form.

The giving of form to dynamics or spirit may be illustrated on many levels. A man with a sudden intuitive (or revelatory) glimpse of truth must try to capture that understanding in the form of words and sentences, or perhaps social structures, or else its impact on the world in which he lives will be lost. The man can never fully capture his insight in the ambiguities of language, but if he forms it well, its impact may still be great. If he forms it poorly, much of its potential value may be lost. The problem confronting him is that of developing forms which will convey as accurately and effectively as possible the essential nature of his insight so as to maximize its impact on the world.

The earliest Christian community faced this problem in its own special situation and with the complications of its understanding of itself as the eschatological community of God—an understanding of which seemed to militate against forms. As a community ruled by the Spirit, what need had they of rules? If the Reign of God was to bring history and all worldly forms to an end at any moment, what need had they of structures, offices, or elaborate rituals? But as the world continued to exist and the saints found imperfection and disagreement continuing in their lives and communities, the realities of society began to shape the realities of the Spirit.

The necessity of this transformation does not eliminate the sense of tragedy which comes to us as the Spirit becomes buried more and more deeply under the layers of finite historical realities.

But is the Ecclesia in the New Testament sense a historical entity—a thing of history at all? Is it not, rather, the eschatological Congregation of those who are divorced from the world? Then would it not be a falling away from its own nature, if the Ecclesia should nevertheless come to constitute itself as an entity within the world, having, as such an entity, a history in which it works out its regulations? And what if these regulations become regulations of law enforced by compulsion: what if their execution becomes the concern of an office? Will they not then directly contradict the nature of the Ecclesia? For its regulations—if it be permissible to speak of such at all—are created from case to case by the free sway of the Spirit. In the Ecclesia can the leaders' authority have any other foundation than the gracious gift of the Spirit?³

Bultmann gives the obvious answer to his own question:

No human society can have permanence in history without regulations. Hence, it is self-explanatory that regulations gradually developed in the primitive Christian congregations—both for the constitution of the local congregations and for their relation to each other and to the totality of the Church.⁴

The tragedy of this necessity is that the Spirit and objectives of the community are not merely hidden but are transformed into something different. The form alters in some degree the very Spirit it embodies. Consequently, "... the real question is just this: in what form will the rule of the Spirit, or of Christ, realize itself in history?"⁵ It is the thesis of this article that under the forces of history, the Ecclesia, the "called out," became an institution; i.e., the community of the saved in this life became an institution for saving into the next life.

We must be cautious about arbitrarily assuming that the earlier flexible forms are superior to the later, more structured (and hence less flexible) forms merely because they are earlier or more flexible. We cannot say with any real assurance whether the Christians of A.D. 50 were in any sense superior to those of A.D. 100. But we can nevertheless recognize that the Church's understanding of itself changed and that it has seldom recognized the nature or significance of this change. We cannot condemn the Church without condemning ourselves for yielding to the same forces, but we can perhaps mourn a little for that which was lost.

It is important to emphasize before going on that the changes we are discussing occurred largely during the period in which the New Testament was written. Recognizing these developments as they may

be seen reflected in the New Testament literature obviously requires a rough knowledge of the order in which that literature appeared. Although there is no universal agreement, the following chronology is fairly standard and is adequate for our purposes.⁶

	A.D. 50-52	
I, II Thess.	53-54	
Galatians	54-55	
I Cor.	55-56	
II Cor.	56-57	
Romans	58-60	
Captivity Epistles (Philemon, Col., Phil., Eph.?)	70	
Mark	75-100	
James	75-100	
Ephesians	85-100	
Matthew	85-100	
Luke	90-95	
I Peter	90-95	
Hebrews	90-95	John 90-110
Revelation		Epistles of John 90-110
(I Clement, Didache)		
Pastoral Epistles	100-130	
Jude	110-130	
II Peter	130-150	

II. The Message of Jesus

"The heart of the preaching of Jesus Christ is the Kingdom of God."⁷ Fundamental to the thesis of this article is the recognition that Jesus, as reflected in the literature of the earliest Christian church, called men not primarily to belief in doctrines, rituals, or ecclesiastical authority, but rather to decision—for or against the Kingdom of God.

The decision is for life in the coming Reign of God or for death by submission to the finite and temporary world, a world soon to end. "God will suddenly put an end to the world and to history. . . . Jesus expected that this would take place soon, in the immediate future. . . . Today nobody doubts that Jesus' conception of the Kingdom is an eschatological one . . . the eschatological expectation and hope is the core of the New Testament preaching throughout."⁸ The accuracy of this assertion is evident whether we attribute such sayings in the Gospels to Jesus himself or to the Church.

And he said to them, "I tell you solemnly, there are some standing here who will not taste death before they see the kingdom of God come with power."—Mk. 9:1: cf. Mt. 16:28 and Lk. 9:27.⁹

I tell you solemnly, before this generation has passed away all these things will have taken place.—Mk. 13:30: cf. Mt. 24:34 and Lk. 21:32.

I tell you solemnly, you will not have gone the round of the towns of Israel before the Son of Man comes.—Mt. 10:23.

Paul, too, clearly expects the end to come soon.

I will tell you something that has been secret: that we are not all going to die . . . (I Cor. 15:51); . . . our time is growing short (I Cor. 7:29). I say this because the world as we know it is passing away (7:31). We want you to be quite certain, brothers, about those who have died, to make sure you do not grieve about them. . . . Any of us who are left alive until the Lord's coming will not have any advantage over those who have died (I Thess. 4:13, 15).

It is important to realize that the eschatological aspect of the decision does not eliminate the severity of the demands on life in the present world, as is demonstrated by the parables of the Kingdom.

The kingdom of heaven is like treasure hidden in a field which someone has found: he hides it again, goes off happy, sells everything he owns and buys the field.

Again, the kingdom of heaven is like a merchant looking for fine pearls: when he finds one of great value he goes and sells everything he owns and buys it.—Mt. 13:44, 45.

Commitment to life under God's Reign must be total. "No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the Kingdom of God" (Lk. 9:62). The two great commandments (Mt. 22:34-40; Mk. 12:28-34; Lk. 10:25-28) make it clear that the decision for life in God's Reign cannot be separated from the decision for one's neighbor. "The Reign of God, demanding of man decision for God against every earthly tie, is the salvation to come. Hence, only he is ready for this salvation who in the concrete moment decides for that demand of God, which confronts him in the person of his neighbor."¹⁰ (Cf. Lk. 6:27-38; 10:29-37; Mt. 43-48.)

It is also important for us to realize that it was the presence of Jesus himself, in his life and death, which compelled men and women to decide for or against him. The radical love of Jesus brings both grace and judgment. Personal confrontation with such a man drives us to an agonizingly honest reevaluation of the direction, quality, and meaning of our lives. Therefore, he says to us, "blessed is he who takes no offense at me" (Mt. 11:4-6, RSV). (Cf. Lk. 7:22-23.)

Basically, therefore, he in his own person is the "Sign of the time." He in his own person signifies the demand for decision insofar as his cry, as God's last word before the End, calls men to decision. Now the question is whether a man really desires God and His Reign or the world and its goods, and the decision must be drastically made.¹¹

Our understanding of the message of Jesus, then, involves the following key factors:

1. Jesus called people to *decide*: for or against life under the Reign of God.
2. The Reign of God was expected to bring worldly history to an end at any moment.
3. Despite the futuristic aspects of this eschatology, the Reign of God was already a present reality which demanded a radical life of love and abandonment of worldly (material and temporary) values.
4. It was the presence of Jesus himself which confronted people with the demand for decision.

III. The Nature of Ecclesia

a. The Kerygma of the Church

When Jesus was no longer physically present, his call to decision was continued in the preaching (or Kerygma) of the early Church. An examination of the nature of the Kerygma is the preached Word which comes to individual listeners, not as a statement of general principle or as a list of doctrines but as an *existential* Word of grace and judgment which confronts the recipients at the roots of their being and sense of meaning and drives them, as did the presence of Jesus, to decision.

In the "word," then, the salvation-occurrence is present. For the proclaimed word is neither an enlightening Weltanschauung flowing out in general truths, nor a merely historical account. . . . Rather, it is *Kerygma*. . . . So it is, by nature, a personal address which accosts each individual, throwing the person himself into question by rendering his self-understanding problematic, and demanding a decision of him.¹²

Clearly, a close relationship exists between preaching which becomes Kerygma and the working of the Spirit in the Ecclesia.

b. Kerygma and Ecclesia

Under the power of the Spirit the Church is enabled to bring its preaching to its listeners as Kerygma. The Kerygma also both creates and maintains the Church as Ecclesia. We can see this in the following statement by Paul from I Corinthians and a corresponding observation by Bultmann (which I have lettered for reference).

(4) I never stop thanking God for all the graces you have received through Jesus Christ. (5) I thank him that you have been enriched in so many ways, especially in your teachers and preachers: (6) the witness to Christ has indeed been strong among you (7) so that you will not be without any of the gifts of the Spirit while you are waiting for our Lord Jesus Christ to be revealed; (8) and he will keep you steady and without blame until the last day, the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, (9) because God by calling you has joined you to his Son, Jesus Christ; and God is faithful (I Cor. 1:4-9).

(a) The preached word calls and gathers men into the *Ecclesia*, the *Church*, the *Congregation* of those who are "called" and "saints." It is the eschatological Congregation, and hence its existence belongs to the eschatological salvation-occurrence. (b) Only in the Ecclesia is there authorized preaching; the "ministry of reconciliation" is the "ministry of a new covenant" (II Cor. 3:6ff.). . . .¹³

The Kerygma and the Ecclesia are inherently interdependent. Neither can exist without the other. The Ecclesia consists of those who have received the Word, either directly from Jesus or as Kerygma of the Church, and have responded to it by deciding for the Reign of God (a). The Ecclesia sustains itself by continuing to listen to its own Kerygmatic preaching (5, 9, and c), and by carrying it out to the world (6). (Reference back at various points in the article to the section from I Corinthians would show that it tells us a great deal about the early Church.)

In giving such importance to the Kerygma of the Church we must be cautious lest we mistake it for mere lecturing on doctrines. The Word must be the Word for somebody.¹⁴ It is the new life created by the Kerygma which is important. It is not Kerygma unless it

creates new life. Paul calls this new life being "in Christ" as a "new creation." This new creation is both the origin and mission of the Ecclesia as the Body of Christ.

And for anyone who is in Christ, there is a new creation; the old creation has gone, and now the new one is here. It is all God's work. It was God who reconciled us to himself through Christ and gave us the work of handing on this reconciliation. In other words, God in Christ was reconciling the world to himself, not holding men's faults against them, and he has entrusted to us the news that they are reconciled.—II Cor. 2:17-20.

c. Eschatology and "Between-ness"

The emphasis given so far to the belief of the Church in the impending eschatological event and the Church's relationship to the Kerygma may make it easier for us to discuss the difficult problems raised in Paul's theology of grace as freedom from sin, the Church in society, and salvation—i.e., the nebulous relationship between that which the Church expects to be after the eschaton and that which it is at present. Bultmann labels this situation as "between-ness" and sees it

mainly as a problem of the Christian's understanding of himself. The problem was set by the paradoxical situation of the Church: as the eschatological entity which it is it belongs not to the old but to the future world and yet must lead its life within the old world between "no longer" and "not yet."¹⁵

It is clear from Paul's letters (cf. Philemon) that the Church at that time did not attempt to change the structures of society or to change the legal or social positions of its members; rather it sought to change human beings and hence human relationships within those structures and situations. Despite the obvious contradiction between radical Christian love and many social institutions (slavery, for an obvious example) this attitude is quite consistent with the self-understanding of the Ecclesia. If God is about to bring history and all worldly forms to an end, there is clearly no reason for people with little social, economic, or political power to waste vital time and energy in the slow process of social change. That energy should be spent instead in preaching the Word so that as many individuals as possible can be prepared for the great eschaton when God's Reign begins in full.

The real problem lies in the status of the Christian who, having received the Kerygma, has committed him- or herself fully to the Reign of God but must still live in the world for a brief but indefinite period. The dilemma is clearest in terms of the problem of sin. Keep in mind that for Paul individual sins are only manifestations of sin as a condition of human existence. Sin is human life in opposition to the life described by the Law. That is, the Law describes the nature of homo sapiens as God calls them to be, a nature from which they are estranged in their earthly life because of the powers of the flesh: greed, lust, fear, etc. But "When a man dies, of course, he has finished with sin" (Rom. 6:7), because he is no longer subject to the compulsions of the flesh. The content of Paul's Gospel is that by the grace of God, "Christ died for us while we were still sinners" (Rom.

5:8) so that we might "be dead to sin but alive for God in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 6:11).

The symbol of this is baptism. "You have been taught that when we were baptised in Christ Jesus we were baptised in his death; in other words, when we were baptised we went into the tomb with him and joined him in death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the Father's glory, we too might live a new life" (Rom. 6:3-4). The baptized person is not merely given forgiveness (freedom from guilt and punishment) for past acts of sin, but is given a new life free from the powers which force him or her into sins; i.e., freedom from sin. Note, however, that "It is not a decisionless capacity henceforth to do the good only. . . . 'Sinlessness' is not a magical guarantee against the *possibility* of sin—the believer, too, must beware of the 'tempter' (I Thess. 3:5; I Cor. 7:5; II Cor. 2:11)—but release from the *compulsion* of sin."¹⁶ Although, as Bultmann points out, some sense of ritual magic can still be sensed in Paul's doctrine of baptism, "He is opposing a purely sacramental understanding of baptism as the means by which one achieves assurance of a future life. He does so by showing that the life so conferred by baptism must prove itself in the present by its freedom from the power of sin."¹⁷

Many scholars have argued that Paul's insistence on the freedom from sin of the life "in Christ" cannot be reconciled with his constant admonitions against the sins of the Church members. Bultmann disagrees. He sees the resolution in the dialectical tension between the "no longer" (being of the world) and the "not yet" (removed from the world) which is inherent in the life of the Ecclesia. The belief of the Ecclesia that the Reign of God is about to bring worldly history to an end is so overwhelming that even as a future event—yet unrealized—it shapes the present. By deciding for the Reign of God in response to the Kerygma, Christians become citizens of that Kingdom. They are no longer citizens of the world. "Christians in this world are 'away from home.' . . . They are 'strangers, temporary sojourners' (I Pet. 1:1; 2:11). . . . The basic motif of the Epistle to the Hebrews can be called 'the pilgrim-people of God.' . . ."¹⁸ Because of this transience they can devote themselves fully to radically idealistic lives of love, free of temporal concerns. Consequently, for such people the Reign of God is already a present reality evidenced by the power of the Spirit manifest in its gifts to the Ecclesia (I Cor. 1:7) and by the new life conferred on the individual Christians. But all of these things indicating that the Ecclesia is "no longer" of this world are simultaneously qualified by the glaring fact that it is "not yet" fully free of this world. Thus its members can still fall back at times into sin and the Churches can argue about policy and practice.

d. Authority Within the Church

The advantage of discussing authority and the Ecclesia at this point is that we have already discussed the major shaping factors: Eschatology, Kerygma, and Between-ness. The Eschatological per-

spective should make it quite clear that the Ecclesia would have no reason or intention to consciously create a highly structured bureaucracy of priesthood or administrative authority. All such things might be done away with before they could even be instituted.

Neither in the earliest Palestinian Congregation nor in earliest Hellenistic Christianity was there originally any thought of instituting church regulations or offices—which is just what one would expect in view of their eschatological consciousness of standing at the end of time.¹⁹

Nevertheless, some authority is obviously present even in the Ecclesia. The Kerygma is clearly the answer to the question this situation raises. "The question that really matters is: What office can be appropriately instituted for the direction of the eschatological Congregation? Undoubtedly it can only be one founded upon the proclamation of the word."²⁰ A good example of this is Paul's understanding of his own authority as expressed in Colossians 1:25: "I became the servant of the Church when God made me responsible for delivering God's message to you" (cf. RSV, N.E.B., and N.A.B.). The important thing here is that the authority of and within the Church comes from the Word, which must not be confused at this early point with an office. "In the fact that the activity of proclaiming the word, which we have seen really constitutes the Church, is not at first tied to an office, we have solid evidence that the Church at first knows no office or law by which it is constituted as the Church."²¹ Evidence for this again comes from Paul, who calls all missionaries "apostles" (cf. Rom. 16:7; I Cor. 9:5; II Cor. 11:5, 13; 12:11f.).²²

We must not forget, however, the relationship between the Church's preaching and the Spirit which makes it Kerygma. The ability to preach Kerygma is understood as a gift of the Spirit. Paul gives us strong evidence for this, as well as a valuable look at the rudiments of Church structures, in his discussion of spiritual gifts in I Corinthians 12:27-14:40.

In the Church, God has given the first place to apostles, the second to prophets, the third to teachers: after them, miracles, and after them the gift of healing; helpers, good leaders, those with many languages (12:28).

Apostles, prophets, and teachers are all proclaimers of the Word. Notwithstanding the unconditional priority of love over all other gifts, the importance of preaching is made clear in Chapter 14 where Paul emphasizes the value of intelligible preaching over the gift of tongues. He then again reiterates that the Word is a gift of God's grace and not of man's own powers. "Do you think the Word of God came out of yourselves?" (14:36).

IV. Priesthood: Beginnings of the Institution

It should be noted that in 12:28 the gift of good leadership, which the Jerusalem Bible interprets as administrative or guiding functions in the Church, is present by this time, but it is very low on the list of importance. "The chief persons of authority are those endowed with gifts of the Spirit, beside whom those who act for the

external order and welfare of the congregation's life play at first a subordinate role."²³ The surprising fact that these functions exist at all is accounted for by Between-ness. Because the world continues to exist, certain worldly things must be attended to. The crucial element we must recognize is that "What there is of office and law—the institution of congregational officers (presbyters and episkopoi)—does not constitute the Church, but regulates the practical side of congregational life."²⁴ The word "constitute" as used here, means, in other words, that the validity of the Ecclesia does not arise out of or depend upon the regulative offices. They are necessary but temporary, and have no lasting significance in the expected destiny of the Church. In the Old Testament the priest was a mediator between God and people. Christ has broken this barrier so that people are reconciled to God and hence no mediator is needed.

... Neither in the Palestinian Church nor originally in the Hellenistic Church was there a priestly class. As late as I Pet. (cf. 2:5, 9) the Congregation is "a holy priesthood," "a royal priesthood"; i.e., all Christians have priestly quality. But to the extent that both branches of the Church had need of some sort of order and guidance, such was given by persons of authority who were still far from being officials.²⁵

Bultmann agrees in essence with Rudolf Sohm's contention that the existence of regulative offices threatens the very nature of Ecclesia, because such offices tend to become constitutive rather than regulatory.

According to Sohm, any such thing as ecclesiastical law stands in contradiction to the nature of Ecclesia: with such a thing a notion (first visible in I Clement) invades the Church that the authority of Spirit-endowed persons is the authority of office. But that is the sinful fall of the Church; by it she denies her own nature.²⁶

It is precisely this change which did take place and from which we may view the pattern of change for the whole of the Church's self-understanding. As the world continued to exist, the Church felt more and more pressed upon by social forces. Membership increased and doctrinal differences between members and congregations became more pronounced and important. Elders were appointed to care for the churches and to help administer the law from case to case.²⁷ Since the apostles who founded the churches and had final authority in them were not permanent residents there, they appointed men to act for them. Soon the fulfilling of a particular function began to constitute holding an office, and then, gradually, this relationship reversed itself.

The course of development now is a double one. On the one hand, the charismatics, so far as they are the proclaimers of the word, more and more become officials; that is, their *charisma*, which originally was given to the person, is now understood as an office—charisma conveyed by ordination (I Tim. 4:14, II Tim. 1:6). On the other hand, the proclaiming of the word is transferred as a right or duty of office to the officials (elders or episkopoi) of the congregation (pastoral letters, Did., Herm.).²⁸

The Didache, a Christian manual probably written during the early second century gives a striking example of this.

You must, then, elect for yourselves bishops and deacons who are a credit to the Lord, men who are gentle, generous, faithful, and well tried. *For their ministry to you is identical with that of the prophets and teachers.* You must not, therefore, despise them for along with prophets and teachers they enjoy a place of honor among you.²⁹

The Didache's significance, as Bultmann says, is in showing that "the proclamation of the word became the affair of the congregational officials."³⁰ The preaching of the Word, which is the foundation of the Church, is no longer given freely by the Spirit but is delegated as a responsibility of elected officers. "The decisive step has then been taken: henceforth, the office is regarded as *constitutive of the Church.*" "The Spirit is henceforth bound to the office and is transmitted by a sacramental act, ordination by laying on of hands (Acts 6:6; 13:3; I Tim. 4:14; II Tim. 1:6; perhaps also I Tim. 5:22)."³¹

The development of the office carries directly over into the sacraments. At first it had been necessary merely to regulate the sacraments so as to preserve order and consistency of meaning, but "The order which regulates the cultus is now regarded as that which guarantees its efficacy."³² The priestly class arises again as mediator between God and people in the administration of rituals. "This is all the more important the more the sacrament comes to be regarded, along with the word or even instead of the word, as the factor which is constitutive for the Church."³³

The changes which have taken place may still be understood in light of Eschatology, Kerygma, and Between-ness. But a drastic change has taken place. Eschatology and Between-ness have merged. The Eschaton is removed ever further from the present both in time and in its impact on life. The Reign of God is no longer an event so near and overpowering that it is a present reality. The "not yet" of between-ness is so dominant that it has lost most of its dialectical tension with the "no longer." "... The knowledge is lost that the future so qualifies the present that believers already exist eschatologically..."³⁴ With the rise of the second and third generations the membership is no longer limited to those who have been forced to make a radical decision or drastically change their self-understanding. The Church, then, is no longer the Ecclesia. Bultmann outlines the basic changes as follows:

Originally the Church conceives itself as the eschatological people of God, the Congregation of the saints, those who are called out of the world and divorced from it. The Church senses this transcendent character of itself by the gifts of the Spirit which are at work.³⁵

In consequence of the delay of the expected parousia the transcendent character of the Church gradually comes to be seen not so much in its reference to the future as in its present possession of institutions which are already mediating transcendent powers in the present: a sacramental cultus and finally a priestly office.

Of course, that reference to the future does not get lost, but it, too, becomes peculiarly modified. The future salvation toward which hope is directed comes to be seen less in the completion of the history of salvation and the transformation of the world at the dawn of the new age (as in Rom. 9-11 and 8:19-22) than in the future life of the individual beyond death.³⁶

The sacraments have changed accordingly. Baptism no longer frees one from the powers of sin but merely from the guilt and punishment for individual sins committed prior to baptism. By the end of the first century the Lord's Supper has become, as Ignatius calls it in his letter to the Ephesians (20:2), the "medicine of immortality."³⁷

The change has become complete. The Church has been transformed from Ecclesia into Institution, "from a fellowship of salvation to an institution of salvation."³⁸

Postscript

This article deals much more extensively with the nature of the Ecclesia than with the shift to institutionalism because I think we can understand the latter part by examining our own church institutions. Once we are aware of what the Church *was* we can easily see what it became and why. The difficult but critical fact for restorationists of all kinds to realize is that this shift took place primarily during the period covered by the New Testament. The very existence of the Gospels indicates that the Church was in the later stages of its struggle with between-ness and was beginning to recognize the need to preserve some of its history, at least for its own members. This would not be necessary for a writer who still expected each day to be the last. Why preserve the nearly forgotten words of Jesus if he will return tomorrow in person? The change was, of course, complicated and gradual. But for that very reason the concept of a "restoration of the New Testament Church" has little meaning. At what point in its development will we arbitrarily break in and label it "the *True* New Testament Church?" The more highly structured it is the more easily we can define it and reconstruct it, but the further it is from its original nature. The closer we come to its "calling out" the more impossible it becomes to identify what it is we are supposed to restore. Perhaps one of the major errors in Restoration thinking is the belief in a given church organization and authority, ordered by the historical Jesus, which can be re-created or restored.

It is interesting to note that the first definition of the Church in LDS Scriptures is given in the (Reorganized) Doctrine and Covenants 3:16 as follows (July or August 1829):

Behold, this is my doctrine: Whosoever repenteth and cometh unto me, the same is my church; whosoever declareth more or less than this, the same is not of me, but is against me; therefore, he is not of my church.

It is easy to see this insight arising out of Joseph's experiences with the revivals of his boyhood when the various preachers would join in calling all to repentance and a new way of life only to fall upon the new converts immediately afterwards with their conflicting claims for doctrinal and ecclesiastical authority with "priest contending against priest, and convert against convert; so that all their good feelings one for another, if they ever had any, were entirely lost in a strife of words and a contest of opinions."³⁹ But despite the severe

warnings, more was added to this definition of the Church almost immediately, and the concept was essentially lost long before the words were published. Perhaps the Restoration churches have never really believed this first prophetic insight—we certainly don't now—but it is as close to a restoration of the Ecclesia as we are likely to get doctrinally. If we ever take this understanding of the nature of the Church seriously, we will be forced to radically reevaluate everything the Restoration churches now stand for. I do not believe that any of these bodies can now go that far in self-denial.

Even if such a reevaluation were undertaken, we would have to do so without the simplistic assumption that restoration is desirable for its own sake. The world today certainly needs a sense of eschatological urgency if we are to save ourselves from ecological, military, and social disaster; but such a salvation cannot be found as long as we cling to a first century concept of a Deus ex Machina who will step in and solve our problems for us in a spectacular parousia. Similarly, we need people who will abandon the "practical" value systems of the material world; but such people must be firmly and courageously rooted in the realistic recognition that the values of love, peace, and universal brother- and sisterhood which can only come about through such sacrifice and "idealism" will not triumph in a decade, a generation, or a century. The Church for today needs desperately to sense its "calling-out" into the world—its role as Ecclesia; but it must also come seriously to grips with the need for changes which only institutions have the power to make in time.

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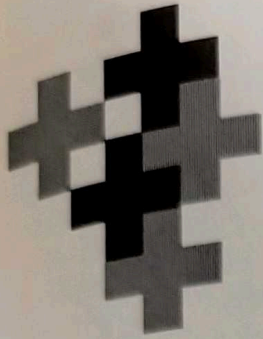
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**Rudolf Bultmann is one of the major New Testament scholars of the twentieth century. He is especially important for his work in "demythologizing" the New Testament.*

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On Conceptualization of Zion

W. B. (Pat) Spillman

Somehow we must conceive of Zion in a way which allows for certain aspects of it to be realizable. . . . Yet at the same time Zion must also be the eternal, infinite challenge that causes us to constantly search out our best efforts and qualities.

One of the most characteristic beliefs of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, perhaps its most significant, is its belief in Zion, a heavenly community here on earth. Christians have for hundreds of years expected the kingdom of God to accompany the return of Christ, yet relatively few have believed that an earthly community with heavenly features would predicate this return. Though millennialism has been fairly common throughout the history of Christianity, not since the second century have so many people based their beliefs and lives on an imminent parousia as have the Latter Day Saints. In fact, much of the appeal Mormonism has had since its inception in the nineteenth century derives not only from its conviction that Christ's return is impending but that Mormons, charged with responsibility for building a signal community, would actually create a corporate structure reflecting eternal and Christian virtues which could catalyze the world into Christian action and therefore hasten the Lord's return.

Today, although conceptions of both the structure and function of the "signal community" have undergone change, the idea of and hope for Zion remain at the heart of the evangelical message of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Hardly a public prayer is uttered without some reference to the "building up of the kingdom, even Zion in these last days." There is, however, rather wide divergence of opinion regarding what form Zion will take, how it is to be established, and even what purpose it is to have. This confusion is lamentable because it vitiates the power of the idea. When the chief *raison d'être* of an organization is the pursuit of a specific goal, it certainly behooves the organization to have a clear idea of that goal.

In the interests of such goal clarification, I intend to examine briefly the historical backgrounds of the idea of Zion in the Latter

Day Saint movement, discuss some of the more popular contemporary conceptions of it, then comment upon the structure of utopias and utopian thought and their implications for present-day Zionism conceptualization.

Richard P. Howard, church historian, states that "prior to the end of 1830 the word *Zion* was used numerous times in documents eventually published in the *Doctrine and Covenants*. However the term did not carry specific meaning beyond what may be implied from a general allusion to the work of the church."¹ A typical reference reads, "Keep my commandments, and seek to bring forth and establish the cause of Zion...."² The concept of Zion as a specific city came only gradually.

Undoubtedly, some of the emphasis on a Zionism community came as a result of the conversion to the church in 1830 of a group of communitarians in Kirtland, Ohio, who called themselves the "family." Their leader, Sidney Rigdon, soon rose to high official rank in the small, struggling church and became a chief adviser and close friend of the prophet, Joseph Smith, Jr. Rigdon's "family" had for some time experimented in communal living, owning all things in common. And since Rigdon, like Joseph Smith, was a powerful charismatic leader, it is not surprising to see the church's next expansion of the Zionism concept taking on some of the features of the Rigdon experiment.

In 1831 the leadership of the church along with some of its membership moved to Kirtland, partly in response to divine revelation and partly because of persecution in New York. In Ohio problems developed, mostly as a result of attempts by the Latter Day Saints to adopt the communitarian methods of the "family." As disputes over property rights multiplied, the Prophet received a revelation (Chap. 44 *Book of Commandments*) which enjoined the membership of the church to transfer their property to the bishop, who would then lease a portion of their former land adequate for sustenance back to the previous owners. Any surplus of profit was consecrated to the church for benefit of the poor. The objectives of this revelation apparently were to increase the church's ability to assimilate the poor and needy and, as Howard put it, "to insure the relative economic equality of the consecrating stewards as well as the self-sufficiency of the community with respect to the world."³

Subsequent problems involving members defecting from the movement and seeking return of their lands through court action, as well as serious persecution in Missouri significantly lessening the amount of property consecrated, led to a rewording of Chapter 44 as it appeared in the 1835 edition of the *Doctrine and Covenants* (Section 42 in the 1952 edition). In the new wording (the former revelation was never repealed) property might be consecrated to the poor but it was unnecessary for a new member to turn over all his wealth to the church. Though the critic might at this point charge that Smith was "pulling revelations out of his hat to meet the situation," we need not make so harsh a judgment. Howard suggests: "That Joseph Smith felt free to alter the wording of the law of

Day Saint movement, discuss some of the more popular contemporary conceptions of it, then comment upon the structure of utopias and utopian thought and their implications for present-day Zionism conceptualization.

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consecration in 1835 is evidence of his view that revelation cannot be captured, finally and fully, in words, but that it required subsequent human response in terms of reinterpretation and evaluation in light of historical experience."⁴

Despite continual setbacks, the vision of Zion as a special city grew. Independence, Missouri, was designated by Joseph Smith as its site in 1831; but before much could be done there, the church was expelled in 1833. In the next eleven years the creation of the city of Zion never achieved much momentum, though it remained a foremost goal. Until 1840 the church did not stay in a single place long enough to try much. And although the Nauvoo period was one of improving prosperity for the church and increasing confidence in the church's ability to eventually build Zion, disorder again prevailed when Smith was shot in 1844.

In the ensuing half century the Mormon movement became greatly divergent. The Utah element did pursue the ideal of an actual city, and to a large extent Salt Lake City reflects Brigham Young's interpretation of Joseph Smith's dream. For the much smaller Reorganization, however, survival as an identifiable group occupied most of its time. Though some limited attempts to initiate communally oriented Zionistic projects were made in the latter nineteenth century around Lamoni, Iowa, most of the Reorganized Church's efforts were aimed at refining doctrine, establishing its legitimacy, and keeping alive as an organization.

A significant change in view of the Zionistic concept came through Joseph Smith III in a revelatory document dated 1909.⁵ This document made clear that Zion is to be interpreted as more than a simple, discrete community. Historian Howard related that the Zionistic concept was turned "inside out." "That is," he said, "the idea of a single, pastoral agriculture-oriented, isolated society of Saints living in close proximity to each other in a specialized plat of land was replaced by the idea of multiple gathering centers, diversified in organization, having a much closer relation to society at large, comprised of people primarily sensitive to the feelings and needs and laws of the larger society."⁶ Despite the fact that the document was declared revelatory and ordered printed in the *Doctrine and Covenants* by a General Conference of the church, there was never full acceptance of this new concept. Many of the efforts of F. M. Smith, Joseph III's successor, were directed at eliminating the tension and disagreement created by the document.

Today, more than half a century later, there exist three distinct conceptions of Zion. A large proportion of people still think of Zion as a distinct city. Some see it as a refuge from the dangers and stresses of modern life, others as an ideally planned model city in the civic planner sense. Most of these emphasize Independence as the site of Zion; however, only a few of this group insist that Zion will conform strictly to the city limits of the present city of Independence. Interestingly enough, one living stake president even seriously advised me that Zion will be physically no larger than the boundaries of Center Stake. A larger proportion of Saints, however, accept the

leadership of the church in Independence but insist that Zion will in a real physical sense be created in the stakes and surrounding regions as well.

Another large group of people feels that Zion is a condition in the hearts and minds of the people. This group generally believes that Zion can be seen primarily in a quality of human relationships. In this sense Zion can be anywhere the people of God are. There does seem to be a question for some as to when the quality of relationships actually reaches Zionic proportions. The problem seems to be that no one really knows how to clearly distinguish Zion from almost-but-not-quite-Zion.

In an attempt to resolve this problem a third group, smaller than the other two, conceives of Zion essentially as a process of becoming. The basic assumption of this view is that Zion is not a specified set of boundaries, either physical, social, or spiritual. Instead, it is a dynamic process of development. At any given time Zion is already present among us. This group would not be able to say definitely that *this* is Zion or *that* is not Zion but rather that *this tends* to be Zionic and *that tends* not to be. Those actions, attitudes, and thoughts which tend to direct people toward worship of God and love for one another are Zionic. Those that tend to detract from these ends are not Zionic.

Though it is not primarily the purpose of this paper to support one of the above views over the others, I cannot help but feel that there is a difference in merit among them. All three positions have their appealing points, but each has drawbacks also. For example, the Zion-as-the-city-of-Independence concept appeals to those who are basically insecure, who feel a real need for a place of refuge and protection. The idea of belonging to a community which is an ensign to the world and attracts envy and emulation from all people gives one a great sense of satisfaction and, I suspect, self-importance. However, the present city of Independence bears little resemblance to what most people conceive of as Zion. This is often a great source of disappointment and disillusionment to members visiting Independence for the first time. More disappointing yet is the attitude of civic indifference exhibited by far too many residents of the city itself, including many church members. Partly because of this, the Zion-is-the-pure-in-heart school appeals to many who do not live in Independence and have little opportunity or intention of ever gathering there. For them Zion can be where they are and the gathering process can make their areas focal points of world attention, too.

The two views just discussed are the ones probably held by the vast majority of church members. Both of the views, the first one especially, have great utopian appeal. People have always dreamed of a "perfect" society where all are happy. In some respects all religions aim in this direction. Christianity has been more socially conscious than other, Eastern religions, however. Ever since its inception, Christianity has stressed preparation for the parousia which would in some theories take the form of a thousand-year reign of Christ over

an earthly Kingdom of Heaven. The Latter Day Saint view, of course, has traditionally been that this kingdom would be built by people with the help of the Holy Spirit and would upon its completion exist both as an example to the world and an invitation (even precondition) to Christ's return in the flesh.

Despite the attraction of the utopian ideal, this concept has some real dangers for the church. To some extent all utopias suffer from the same problems. For one thing, they all seem to display a uniformity or highly developed consensus on prevailing values and institutional arrangements. This leads, by implication, to the lack of any structurally generated conflict. In other words, change and tension are absent. All processes follow recurrent patterns and occur within, and as part of, the design of the whole. They do not upset the status quo; they affirm and sustain it.⁷

The dedicated utopian might at this point protest, saying, "But there will be no need for change because everything will be perfect. Everyone will love one another and act within that love. Who would wish to change that?" The problem here is that the utopian mind often confuses love with uniformity. Thomas Molnar, a student of utopianism, suggests, "This mind holds that love discourages the partners in love from pursuing divisive excellence. Conversely it holds that habitual exposure to the experience of uniformity creates a sense of security which, in turn, is equated with love."⁸ No coercion is envisaged to implement regimentation. Love alone is the guarantee that the community will not disintegrate and will successfully check its centrifugal forces. Says Molnar, "At this state the utopian still hopes that a purely *inner transformation* will bring about the attitudes of self-abnegation and unselfishness needed for uniformity."⁹ In order to effect this inner transformation certain types of education and indoctrination are seen as necessary. Here, however, the utopian thinkers run into trouble. What types of educational experiences will foster the kind of attitudes they want to instill? Is it possible that those being "educated" might react differently to the indoctrination process? To forestall this eventuality, the utopian planner would no doubt establish limitations or boundaries on behavior—for the good of the community, of course! How far these boundaries reach would depend upon the utopian planner involved. Some would undoubtedly wish to have even the most minute facet of life governed so that all can be "equal" and share in the good society in equal measure.

There are many other problems generated by the limited perspective of utopian thinkers, but I feel the ones of uniformity, just mentioned, and of the unlikelihood of social perfection are the most significant. The latter problem could probably be stated as the *impossibility* of social perfection, but I do not wish to impose any absolute prohibitions on that condition however remote it might seem. I contend, though, that there is no absolute form of society where all is perfection and change ceases to occur. This is no doubt merely an assumption, but historical experience would seem to confirm it. Seeing no absolute end to historical experience does not

demand a cyclical view of history, however. It is possible to view humanity's development as being from simple to complex, from disorganized to organized, from sinful and ignorant to righteous and enlightened along an infinite continuum. Because of this, I am sympathetic to the third-mentioned view of Zion, that is of Zion as a dynamic process.

The concept of Zion does not have to postulate a preconceived end to be useful. Preconceptions have a habit of betraying a person as conditions change. It takes time to realize the ideal conditions prescribed for a Zionite community. Meanwhile, as the realization process continues, external conditions change. Even the very act of studying the problem alters the problem itself. This being true, it seems as though a concept of Zion as a specific city with certain prescribed and proscribed behavior patterns could only serve to be a source of eternal frustration. For as the church valiantly strove to achieve Zion, the ideal city would continue to remain on the distant horizon, a shimmering mirage displaying different features to different viewers. Generation after generation would dutifully make its attempts to reach the promised land with little apparent success. As progress was made, goals would be increased and the city seem as far away as ever.

This is not to say that Zion should not provide a goal toward which Saints might strive. People need goals; they are goal-seeking creatures. Without goals they will stagnate—and stagnation precedes disintegration and death. The question really is, "What types of goals should we have?" The trouble with most utopian goals has been that they are either too remote and can never be fulfilled, thus causing fatal frustration, or that they are too inflexible and as conditions change the goals become quite limited or even meaningless. Modern socialist nations have had difficulties with both types of goals. Some of their objectives (e.g. stateless communism) are so remote that constant excuses are required to explain why that condition has not appeared. Other objectives are so limited that once having achieved them the state is left rather purposeless.

Like many activities of life, religion thrives on tension and insecurities. In socialist nations where the day-to-day uncertainties of life are largely met from birth to death, religion has had a hard time. Indifference seems to be the norm. Religion has always fared better during times of crisis. As conditions improve, devotion seems to wane. This is an unfortunate aspect of human nature, but it is a demonstrable fact and must be taken into account. People need a condition of unresolved desire in order to progress. In a dynamic universe there is no middle ground, no neutral position between progress and retrogression. People must go forward or backward. They cannot stand still.

The implication of all this is twofold. First of all, we must realize that goals are a necessary element of human progress. Second, the goals must be realizable but flexible enough that they do not cease to provide challenge. Somehow we must conceive of Zion in a way which allows for certain aspects of it to be realizable, to provide

mileposts by which progress can be measured. Yet at the same time Zion must also be the eternal, infinite challenge that causes us to constantly search out our best efforts and qualities. It must never be seen as a condition which can once and for all be dimensionalized. Tragically, so many people die after striving all their lives for Zion, hoping to see (some even convinced they will see) Zion in their lifetimes and feeling they have not. Yet all around them progress *has* been made and the world is a better place for their having been in it. How much better it would be if they would be able to say, "I helped build Zion," and know that they had.

I much prefer to view Zion as Dr. Lloyd Young calls it: a moving target.¹⁰ It is a concept that can and must be new to each generation. People must rethink what the Zionite process means to them and establish their own goals and priorities. Only in this way can the genius of human diversity be maintained, frustration be avoided, and Zion be recognized.

1. Richard P. Howard, "A Historical Approach to the Revelation on Zion," *Saints' Herald*, CXV (May 15, 1968), 14.

2. *Book of Doctrine and Covenants* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing Co., 1966), Section 6:3a. Cf. Sections 10:3a, 11:3b; 12:3a; 19:2d; 23:4a; 24:1b; 29:3c.

3. Howard, p. 15.

4. Howard, p. 23.

5. *Doctrine and Covenants*, Section 128.

6. Howard, p. 24.

7. Ralf Dahrendorf, "Out of Utopia: Toward a Reorientation of Sociological Analysis" in Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg, eds., *Sociological Theory: A Book of Readings* (New York: Macmillan, 1964), pp. 209-213.

8. Thomas Molnar, *Utopia: The Perennial Heresy* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967), p. 184.

9. Molnar, p. 185.

10. Lloyd Young, "Zion Revisited," *University Bulletin*, XX (Winter, 1968), 57.

Women's Liberation in the Saints' Church

Why do women want to be in the priesthood? Some women involved in the emerging women's rights movement within the church would answer, "We don't!" These women feel that priesthood has lost any valid function it may have had and now exists as an authoritarian structure fostering unquestioning, unthinking obedience to the voice of the priesthood as the final authority.

Many women's liberationists, if they want anything in the church, want a move away from the authoritarian structure which stifles and strives to rule like a heavy-handed parent and a move toward a freeing structure which encourages people to participate on the basis of talents, abilities, and desires. They want a structure in which an able woman with counseling abilities will be able to do "ministerial" counseling instead of having her offer rejected by a presiding elder because she is not in the priesthood. They want a structure in which women with proven editorial abilities will not be passed over as editors of church publications because they are not priesthood members.

These women's liberationists also hope for the development of a more accepting, loving relationship within the church community. They long for the acceptance of all kinds of people with all kinds of life-styles and philosophies, instead of officially condoned rejection because someone does not fit the one mold. These

liberationists want to destroy the specter of old men tormented by secret inner voices which mock them with their own feelings of worthlessness. Not being in the priesthood, they were made to feel somehow unacceptable and had no way to serve or be a meaningful part of the institution which they loved and which had partially destroyed them by its callousness. The church of the liberationists' dreams would willingly and carefully restructure itself so that all kinds of people, male and female, young and old, priesthood member and nonpriesthood member, would be actively involved in every aspect of a church life which had as its reason for existence caring about people and the world.

Yet with that kind of growth and development process as the dynamic goal, women who want such change get tangled up in the means. Which is the best strategy? To push from a relatively powerless position in the church power structure for rather drastic changes in that structure? Or, since priesthood is the key to the power structure of the Saints church, with all administrative offices and most other positions being filled by priesthood members, should women concentrate on priesthood for women and hope that enough women with less authoritarian-centered personalities get into key positions from which they can lead reform drives?

The first way has much to recommend it to an idealist because in order for women to have a voice given their present powerless condition, almost a majority of them would have to coalesce into a grassroots movement which would also draw in some liberationist males.

Such a movement would resemble a class-conscious people's movement, which idealistic revolutionaries always hope will emerge. It could indeed put significant pressure for change upon the church leaders in many ways. Children's Sunday school classes would fall apart if women refused to staff them. Congregations couldn't meet their budgets if women didn't have bake sales and bazaars. The world church could not meet its budget if women refused to give tithes and offerings. Preachers' voices would echo in empty sanctuaries if women refused to go to church. The existing structure would simply collapse should women refuse to participate.

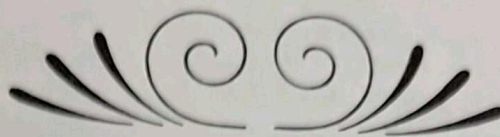
The more practical women, however, recognize the difficulty in winning numbers of church women to a grass-roots movement. They are also very much aware of the follower-leader mentality which the church has nurtured in its members and see opportunities to use that mentality for their advantage. These women may tend toward wanting women in the priesthood and administrative positions, not as ends or evidences of equality but as means to the completely different ends mentioned above. Their chances of ultimately succeeding with a women-in-the-priesthood strategy are relatively good, since the social climate is moving increasingly toward acknowledgment of women's claims for equal rights and status. The church will have to abandon its outdated restrictions on priesthood or lose most of its talented, creative, and professional women, who simply will no longer abide its chauvinistic structure and attitudes.

However, the danger lurking in this latter strategy resembles the realized danger of the early twentieth-century feminists who stopped with winning the vote. Women might be tempted to stop if they win access to the priesthood, thereby forsaking the struggle and helping to perpetuate the system they had hoped to refashion.

Should enough women's liberationists within the church stay in and keep trying, the future shape of the church might well be determined by the strategy they and their liberation-minded male co-workers choose

to use and by how well those strategies are carried to fruition.

Carolyn Raiser



New Historical Society Founded

Fourteen people met in Independence, Missouri, on September 18 to form a historical society for people interested in Latter Day Saint history.

The group is temporarily being called the John Whitmer Historical Association, after the first historian of the church. A five-member steering committee is planning an official organizational meeting at which permanent officers will be elected. The committee is chaired by Mark McKiernan of Nauvoo, Illinois, and also includes Robert Flanders of Southwest Missouri State College, Church Historian Richard Howard, and Barbara Higdon and Paul Edwards of Graceland College. People interested in the society should contact one of these people.

Others participating in the meeting were: Alma Blair, Larry Hunt, Warren Jennings, Gerald Kruse, Grant McMurray, Gordon Mesley, Geoffrey Spencer, W. B. (Pat) Spillman, and Bill Russell.

Most of the people present were already members of the Mormon History Association. It was felt that physical distance from Utah makes it difficult for some people to participate regularly in that association. All those present were interested in seeing the John Whitmer Association work closely with the Mormon History Association in fostering research and discussion on the area of Latter Day Saint history.

The organization of such a society has been sought by a number of persons interested in Latter Day Saint history for a long time. Let's hope that the dream is about to be realized.

William D. Russell

REVIEWS

The New Journalism. By Michael L. Johnson. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1971, 171 pp., cloth \$6.95, paper, \$2.50.)

James Baldwin is not mentioned in Michael L. Johnson's survey of the "new journalism."

This is a strange omission, since many consider Baldwin to be an originator of the new journalism. But even with this oversight, Johnson's book is a helpful introduction to a major phenomenon of the last decade or so—the development of a first person, highly literate, completely subjective and creative journalism.

The writing of James Baldwin, particularly the essays included in books such as *Return of a Native Son* and *The Fire Next Time*, while it may not have inaugurated such new journalism, at least epitomizes it. Baldwin, a supremely gifted writer to begin with, records the stuff of his own experience—as it were, a microcosm of the black experience. His "I" becomes the collective "I", a metaphor for a race and a condition, and an oppression. Baldwin is not the reporter covering the fire, careful to include the who's, what's, when's, where's, why's, and how's. Baldwin is the fire. He both asks and is the six basic questions. This subjective shift is the basis of the new journalism. The writer does not stand outside the event, like a camera. He does not purge emotion and bias. He becomes one with the event. His emotion and his bias provide the depth of his journalism, and its freshness, its relevance, its pain.

Johnson suggests that "the principal distinguishing mark of New Journalistic style is the writer's attempt to be personalistic, involved, and creative in relation to the events he reports and comments upon." He further suggests that the radical style of the 1960's, and the turbulent, earth-shaking events that occurred during that period, forced journalists to "find new and more relevant voices for giving reality to human experience."

The black community, reflected

contemporarily by Baldwin, but historically by such "new and more relevant voices for giving reality" to black experience. But the sixties brought crisis and oppression from the ghetto, slave-shop, and plantations into the street. Perhaps Johnson's omission of Baldwin from his canon of new journalists is more than accident or oversight. Perhaps we have taken for granted, those who even knew it existed, the relevant black writing that reflected the pathos of this oppressed condition. And perhaps our "sudden" concern for new, more empathic journalism, so capably foreshadowed by these and other black writers, more than simply reflecting the turbulent varieties of oppression and liberation that surfaced during the sixties is actually a realization that the comfortable white middle and upper class has finally been confronted with some basic challenges to its comfortable existence—challenges already suffered by blacks.

Johnson cites several examples of this new journalism, ranging from the underground press to Truman Capote. His longest chapter, however, which develops his model for the new journalism, focuses on three "major stylists," Truman Capote, Tom Wolfe, and Norman Mailer. Each of these writers, in his own unique way, typifies the best of the new journalism. All of them, however, disregard the traditional New York Times journalistic style and get as subjectively close as possible to a specific event and then allow their creative writing ability to bring that event to life and to re-create it in such a way that the reader can enter into an "experience," not of the event itself, for that is now forever impossible, but of a work of art that forever points to the event, and becomes nearly synonymous with it.

At best, the new journalism reflects attempts to bring to bear on contemporary life and event the same kind of artistic and literary tools that might have created poems and novels and statues—as though Michaelangelo could have created "Pieta" in response to his actual presence at a post crucifixion meeting of the Christ and his mother.

I would have preferred that John-

son eliminate Capote from his canon and replace him with Baldwin. Capote went back to Kansas and tried to re-create the true narrative of a horrible multiple murder. His wedding of literary skill to reporting is admirable and moves journalism up a considerable notch on the quality scale but does not approach the kind of searing subjective insight that Baldwin is capable of in his best writing.

Tom Wolfe and Norman Mailer, in their own unique ways, have also thrust their self-conscious "I's" into the crucible of contemporary events. But Wolfe, who gets into the world of hot rods and custom cars in his "Kandy-Kolored, Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby" and Mailer, who gets into the streets in Washington and Chicago, though they have moved close-in and have reflected rather than reported events as they were happening, fall short of the kind of completely subjective, authentic expression of a Baldwin.

But their creative expression, better than objective reporting, does get at the substance of the events, re-creates the persons of the events, and manages to inject art and craft into the never ending task of understanding what is really happening in the contemporary world.

Johnson summarizes the influence of these writers—and I would include Baldwin in that summary—in the following manner:

I have devoted this chapter to Capote, Wolfe, and Mailer as three major stylists of the New Journalism because I think they fill those roles, at least during the decade of the 1960's with which we are concerned. They defined and pursued new stylistic directions, and they have influenced many other journalists within the last few years. That is not to say that they are absolutely the most important journalists of the 1960's—though in many ways they are—for there are many others who have been influential in changing the style of traditional journalism who are also important and articulate writers, such as John Hersey, whom I mentioned

earlier and will turn to again, Jimmy Breslin, Dan Wakefield, and Hunter Thompson—all of whom, along with some journalists of the underground press, I will consider in the next two chapters.

If Robert Scholes is right in his theory, quoted earlier, that the realistic novel or, more generally, realistic fiction is splitting into two new forms, "fabulous nonrealistic fiction" and a "creative journalism," then many of the New Journalists, especially those considered in this chapter, are creating a literary genre of the future, as well as recording and assessing an age more richly than has ever been done before. And I would expand his theory to the point of saying that many of the literarily important works of long narrative length in the near future will probably be journalistic, stylistic experiments in the communication of actual events.

Johnson, of course, does not spend all of his time on these new stylists, though he spends more of the book with them than any other aspect of the new journalism.

Two chapters are allocated to a discussion of the "underground press." Such seemingly disparate examples as *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, the *Los Angeles Free Press*, and the *Village Voice* are given. Beyond these examples, he defines four additional categories of "underground" journalism: the Movement, or New Left press, the Black underground, other special interest publications, such as *El Malcriado* (a Chicano paper) or the rock bible *Rolling Stone*, and the high school underground.

Like their more "literary" counterparts, Capote, Mailer, Wolfe, *et al.*, Johnson perceives a note of feeling and honesty running throughout the underground press—the concern to bring subjective passion and commitment to bear on a special focus of urgent need and crisis.

Johnson also focuses on the "New Muckrakers" currently writing on the "general" and "race and war" scenes. He cites such writers as Susan Son-

tag, Jimmy Breslin, Dan Wakefield, Jonothan Kozol, John Hersey, Gene Marine, and Seymour M. Hersh. He follows with a chapter on the youth and radical scene, commenting on James Kunen's *Strawberry Statement* as an example, and citing such new muckrakers as Ralph Nader and Paul Ehrlich.

His final chapter, "Hopeful Signs and Conclusions," deals with changes in the established media to allow more new journalism. He writes:

All of the developments I have been discussing as part of New Journalism indicate the growth and enrichment of a new consciousness, a larger, more varied, and more complex sense of the immediate human situation. The people participating in the creation of this new consciousness are continuously searching beyond their traditions for new forms of journalistic expression and education; yet they return to their own cultural environment and its problems and paradoxes to find the raw material of their new message.

Johnson, for all of his ignorance of Baldwin and other crucial black writers, has written an interesting book, one which traces journalistic developments much more carefully than this reviewer has had opportunity to read elsewhere. Persons interested in the stuff of today's events and the evolution of a media and an art toward a more responsible reflection and re-creation of those events should find the book helpful.

Like many such books, however, it can disturb as well as inform. Think about it! Where in the RLDS (Saints) church is there even the remotest suggestion of such "new journalism"? And if we have no James Baldwins and Norman Mailers, or no I. F. Stone's *Weekly* or *Village Voice*, does this mean that the stuff of our contemporary history does not demand this kind of writing and reporting? And if that is so, then just what does this mean?

See what I mean? Disturbing, isn't it?

Joseph H. Pearson



A Book of Commandments, for the Government of the Church of Christ. (Zion: W. W. Phelps & Co., 1833, 160 pp. *Herald Heritage Reprint, Independence, Missouri, 1972, \$3.50.*)

A Decade of the Best. Compiled by Paul A. Wellington. (*Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1972, 239 pp., \$5.00.*)

Testimonies of the Restoration. Compiled by Norman D. Ruoff. (*Independence: Herald Publishing House, 1971, 203 pp., \$4.00.*)

When Roy Muir left the editorial staff at Herald House in 1964, I was drafted to assume one of his responsibilities—that of assistant editor of *The Restoration Witness*. Muir had been dissatisfied with the *Witness*, and the frustrations of working on this missionary magazine had been part of the reason he decided to move on. Two years later, the *Restoration Witness* was also a factor in my decision to resign from the editorial staff at Herald House.

Despite my best intentions, during the two years when I carried the major responsibility for getting out the monthly *Witness*, I found that we were printing little more than an endless series of "testimonies" by people who told how they were once members of an inferior denomination (Baptist and Catholic seemed the most frequent) and who by certain good fortunes came to affiliate with the one true church.

I felt that the *Witness* was a very ineffective "witness" to those outside the RLDS communion. In fact, it seemed to me that anyone not already inclined toward the Reorganized Church through some favorable association with its members would likely find the content of the *Witness* repulsive. The true value of these testimonies, I believe, is to reassure RLDS people that they do indeed belong to the true or the best church. Much political and religious rhetoric purportedly directed at the un-

believer is probably really designed to keep the faithful from wavering. This seems to have been the main function of the *Witness*, a judgment shared by Roy Muir, whose professional area is public relations and communication.

With this conviction about the *Witness*, in February 1966 I wrote to the five editors-in-chief of the *Witness* (the First Presidency and Apostles Holmes and Ettinger), Editor Paul Wellington, and Associate Editor Aleah Koury. My suggestion was to discontinue the magazine on the grounds that it was not really a good piece to present to nonmembers and that in reality it was only being produced for members. The better *Witness* articles could be used in the *Saints' Herald* or *Stride*. F. Henry Edwards answered for the First Presidency, suggesting that my argument had some merit; but he doubted that the Twelve would want to see the *Witness* discontinued. Earlier I had heard several people say that the Twelve had wanted a magazine of their own and that the *Witness* was the result of this desire. If I recall correctly, neither apostle responded to my letter; but Associate Editor Aleah Koury (soon to become an apostle) vigorously dissented with my views in private conversation with me, feeling the *Witness* had an important role to play.

I was glad to be rid of responsibility for the *Witness* when I resigned from Herald House. My association with other periodicals at Herald House had been extremely pleasant (the *Herald*, *Stride*, and *Priesthood and Leaders Journal*); but the *Witness* seemed to me to present the worst side of RLDS thought.

I was surprised and disappointed when in 1967 Herald House saw fit to publish a book, *Witness to the World*, containing the "best" articles from the first years of the *Witness*. In addition, I was chagrined to find that the articles had been reprinted without bothering to ask the authors if they minded having articles reprinted. Some of the authors, I knew, had changed their viewpoints enough that the reprinting of these articles might be embarrassing to them.

I was not particularly happy to find that an article I had written in 1964 had been reprinted, and I was sorely distressed upon discovering that alterations had been made in my article without my approval. Some changes garbled the meaning. Particularly distressing was one omission. Discussing the gradual growth of my interest in biblical studies, I had cited three teachers who had assisted my biblical education: Roy Cheville at Graceland College, Alfred Yale, whose New Testament course at the School of the Restoration I had audited, and most especially Lindsay Pherigo, from whom I took many New Testament courses at Saint Paul School of Theology in Kansas City. Strangely, the reference to Dr. Pherigo and Saint Paul were omitted. When I protested to Herald House editors, they claimed that the omission of Dr. Pherigo and Saint Paul was an unintentional error. In light of the fact that there has been growing hostility among church people to the fact that RLDS leaders were taking courses at Saint Paul, I found it hard to believe the statement that the omission was unintentional.

Now the members of the church are being presented with another selection of the best from the *Restoration Witness*. I turned to the reading of the articles in *Testimonies of the Restoration* with great interest. It has now been more than six years since I labored on this little missionary magazine. As I read these testimonies for the first time, I was curious to see whether the content of the *Witness*, as seen through this collection of its "best" articles, has changed. I was disappointed to find the same kind of articles that were published while I was the main person responsible for getting it out each month. I can sympathize with Norman Ruoff's problems in editing the *Witness* because I know he would like to have been able to make the *Witness* a much better magazine than it is. But I cannot understand why Herald House would twice publish a hardbound edition of articles from its pages.

Again there are many how-I-joined-the-church kind of articles. In other articles the authors relate how

they finally came to accept the RLDS Church after many years of nominal membership or how they returned to the church after having left it. Others stress the importance of attending church services. There is a good sprinkling of healing and other miracle stories throughout, usually producing a stronger faith in the church and/or God on the part of the author.

A considerable number of testimonies seem pointless. It would be hard to justify their original publication, to say nothing of the decision to commit them to the more permanent form of inclusion in a hardbound book. There are a few that seemed reasonably good, such as the articles by Hendrik Compier, Robert Fisher, Donald Landon, Georg Sofke, and Portia Stanke. The anonymous article and the one by Mercedes Vaughn were interesting. However, for the most part the last sentence on the dust jacket reveals the nature of the book quite well: "Warmth instead of depth was the guide in selecting material."

It would have been helpful to give the date of original publication of each of these articles. Occasionally the question of date came to my mind as I read a particular article. Often I wondered if the author has changed his or her views since original publication.

If collections of "best" articles are to be printed by the Herald House, they would be well advised to draw primarily from past articles in such periodicals as the *Saints' Herald*, *University Bulletin*, *Stride*, *Priesthood and Leaders Journal*, and *Courage*. *Stride*, for example, existed for over twelve years as a separate magazine. A good collection of articles could have been put together from the nearly 150 issues of that publication.

A far more worthwhile collection of previously published articles is *A Decade of the Best*, edited by Paul A. Wellington. This book is a collection of the first eleven Elbert A. Smith Award-winning articles, covering the years 1960-1970. The award is given to the best article in the *Saints' Herald* each year, based on seven factors: (1) original thought and/or research, (2) lasting contribution to the literature and thinking of the

church, (3) careful and accurate preparation, (4) lasting impression on the reader, (5) clarity and force of style, (6) constructive emphasis, (7) timeliness and pertinence. *Herald* editors select the ten best articles. Then a committee of three is appointed to choose from those ten articles.

Several articles seem to be very fitting as Elbert A. Smith Award winners. Particularly in keeping with the seven qualities sought are Charles Davies' "Spiritual Marriage" (1962), John Bradley's "Race in Restoration Scriptures" (1963) and "To Kill or Not to Kill" (1966) and Richard Howard's 1970 article, "Joseph Smith, the Book of Abraham, and the Reorganized Church of the 1970's," an article which originally appeared in *Courage*.

In the opinion of this reviewer the quality of articles in the *Herald* has declined since the decision was made to make the *Herald* a monthly magazine in which controversy would be toned down in favor of a house organ function. This decision seemed to have been the product of the work of Reed Holmes as Commissioner of Communication, and it was implemented with the January 1968 issue of the *Herald*. The new editorial policy seems to rule out the kind of article that made the *Herald* a useful educational tool in the early 1960's, during the editorship of Roger Yarrington and the early years of Paul Wellington. Under Yarrington we saw well-written and researched articles by Clair Weldon and James Lancaster giving two differing views of the method of translation of the *Book of Mormon*. Under Wellington the issue of the virgin birth was brought into sharp focus by the articles by A. M. Pelletier and Lloyd Young which appeared side by side in the February 1, 1964, issue. Such give-and-take no longer appears in the *Herald*. Most likely, today if an article contained original thought and/or research, was timely, made a lasting impression on the reader, and a lasting contribution to the literature and thinking of the church, it would be turned down for publication in the *Herald*.

The November 15, 1962, article by James Lancaster will illustrate the

point. It was a first-rate article if judged by each of the seven factors. There is not an article in *A Decade of the Best* that ought to rate above his article by the criteria used. Although the most important article published by the *Herald* in recent years, it did not even win the award for the year it appeared. And I doubt that it would be accepted for publication in the *Herald* today, unless it were submitted by a high church official.

This leads to another criticism of the awards. The list of authors reads nearly like a directory of the church hierarchy. Of the fourteen award-winning articles (three ties in eleven years seem a little high), eleven were authored by appointees. Seven of these were by top officials (three apostles, the presiding patriarch, and three department heads). Of the three nonappointees, one was at the time the editor of the *University Bulletin* (Barbara Higdon) and another (Evan Shute) an extremely well-known church member. Only Eric Leighton was a relatively unknown person, and he merely tied for the award. One award-winner was female, yet many excellent articles have been and are written in the *Herald* by women, such as "Zion Building—Yesterday and Today," by Dorothy Moser, March 1, 1964.

For some reason the editor of this book chose to designate the status and residence of the authors according to the time the articles were written, rather than updating the biographical note. Thus Eric Leighton (1962) is listed as a Graceland student from Detroit (this was two years out-of-date when it appeared in 1962), and the late Charles A. Davies is listed as the Church Historian.

But despite the weaknesses in the *Herald* and the methods of selecting Elbert A. Smith Award-winners, *A Decade of the Best* is much to be preferred for an evening's reading than *Testimonies of the Restoration*.

The third reprint under consideration is the most worthwhile of the three. The *Book of Commandments* is important to the historian because it was the first attempt to publish a collection of the revelations of Joseph Smith and because many of these revelations had not been previously published.¹ Since original

copies of the *Book of Commandments* are so rare, this reprint of the 1833 *Book of Commandments* will be helpful to historians. It is important to the Mormon movement because examination of the *Book of Commandments* and the 1835 *Doctrine and Covenants* shows that the revelations were altered considerably,² which raises important questions as to the nature of revelation and the nature of Joseph Smith's prophetic role.³

This volume is an exact-size reprint of the unfinished *Book of Commandments*. In addition, a helpful but concise four-page unsigned preface acquaints the reader with the circumstances surrounding the attempted publication of the *Book of Commandments*. Also included in the introductory material are a facsimile of a portion of the original manuscript and a table showing the section numbers for the sixty-five revelations in the *Book of Commandments*, their numbers in the 1835 Kirtland *Doctrine and Covenants*, and the current *Doctrine and Covenants* of the Reorganized Church. Unfortunately the current Utah *Doctrine and Covenants* is not included. The table also notes the seventeen Book-of-Commandments revelations published in the *Evening and Morning Star*, giving the date of issue and the publication number.

Herald House has been doing a lot of reprinting recently. Two of these three books are worthwhile additions to the RLDS library. One wonders if the third was published simply with the hope of making a few dollars.

William D. Russell

1. Some of the revelations in the *Book of Commandments* were previously published by the Saints in the *Evening and Morning Star*. A notebook, referred to as "The Book of the Law of the Lord," recorded the revelations of Joseph Smith. This valuable historical document is in the Church Archives of the Mormon Church in Salt Lake City and is unfortunately not available for research.

2. See Melvin Petersen, "Editing the Revelations for Publication," *Courage*, (March 1971), 172-179. The RLDS Research Library in Independence has a typed copy comparing the revelations as published in the *Book of Commandments* and the 1835 *Doctrine and Covenants*. A microfilm copy of this is in the Frederick Madison Smith Library at Graceland College, Lamoni, Iowa.

3. See Richard Howard, "Latter Day Saint Scriptures and the Doctrine of Propositional Revelation," *Courage*, (June 1971), 209-226.

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Living My Life. By Emma Goldman. (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1971, two volumes, 993 pp., \$7.00, paper).

Emma Goldman's autobiography was first published in 1931. Fortunately for those of us who came after her or who have forgotten her, the autobiography has been republished in paperback.

Most of the societal ills to which anarchist Emma Goldman addressed herself plague us yet—the encroachment upon the realm of individual power and sovereignty by governments controlled by a wealthy or elitist class; repression of free speech; intimidation by police and government officials of people who disagree with those in power; limited and repressive roles for women in society; failure to acknowledge the right of women to have available to them and make use of contraceptive information and devices.

Part of the value of Goldman's autobiography lies in what it reveals about the lives of people who are outside the mainstream of a society and about how society reacts to them. The autobiography is a personal tour through inhumane prison conditions in the United States and Russia, debilitating poverty in most of the major countries in the Western world, and police harassment in lands which pride themselves on freedom of speech and freedom from persecution.

Living My Life also presents a side of labor-management disputes seldom broached—striking laborers murdered by Pinkerton detectives; labor leaders framed, prosecuted, and convicted on flimsy and contrived evidence; wretched living conditions in company towns; a government so antagonistic toward labor that government troops were called out to

break strikes and protect capitalists and their property.

A talented woman, Emma Goldman immigrated to the United States as a teen-ager, where she became acquainted with the anarchist movement around the time of the Chicago Haymarket events. Her passionate spirit clutched at anarchy as the ruling force of her life. She loved and gave herself to others only as long as they could accept her for the free spirit she was. When they began demanding that she abandon her career and dedication to a cause in order to become a wife and mother whose world would center around a man and children, she refused such shackles and moved on.

Goldman developed into a fiery, eloquent speaker for the anarchist cause. She had fairly fluent command of several languages—Russian, Yiddish, German, English, and French—backed by an astonishingly broad self-education.

For years in the United States Emma Goldman spoke out against the political and economic oppression of the poor by government and capital. She maintained that governments were so controlled by the wealthy special interests that political leaders ignored the needs of most of the people in order to cater to the wealthy corporate interests. Such a thesis, while easily dismissed coming from an anarchist, has been picked up in recent years by more respectable members of society and developed in books like W. A. Williams' *Contours of American History*, Gabriel Kolko's *The Progressive Era*, and Charles McCary's *Citizen Nader*.

Goldman and her friends were overjoyed at the Russian revolution. Even when disturbing rumors filtered through to the United States about repressive conditions in their homeland, this group of anarchists denounced the rumors as attempts to further turn world opinion against the revolution.

Then in 1920 Goldman was deported to Russia. She spent a nightmarish year unable to comprehend what she saw and heard and, finally acknowledging the horror in her beloved homeland, fled from it as the only recourse left her. She discovered that the glorious revolution had been

betrayed by Lenin and the communists—Lenin emerging as a dictator more cruel and despotic than the Tzar. People who had been repeatedly jailed and released as political prisoners under the Tzar were ordered executed by Lenin. People who had given everything for the revolution were branded traitors and murdered. The peasants starved while high communist officials enjoyed overflowing tables. The revolution to build a classless society had simply produced new classes.

Goldman's dreams of a paradise of sorts in Russia, which had awakened with news of the revolution, died in the hell of Lenin's communist state. Yet she still maintained that the revolution had been glorious because "the people" had awakened and arisen. They were betrayed, however, by the government that followed. Such betrayal only buttressed the anarchist contention that no government could be trusted.

Anyone reading the book for an exposition of anarchy will be disappointed, for Goldman wisely refrained from making her autobiography a polemic for anarchism. Yet her life reflected the spirit of anarchy as she interpreted it; and after reading about that life, one could have more of a feel for anarchy than if one had read a discourse on it. About the only explicit definition emerging from *Living My Life* is that people ought to be free to live their lives as they want, without being subjected to exploitation sanctioned or practiced by governments. While this interpretation of anarchy may seem very individualistic, Goldman's anarchistic strain resulted in a strong social conscience and feeling of responsibility to destroy institutions which she felt destroyed people.

The autobiography is quite effective in reproducing what Goldman remembered as her feelings and reactions to situations throughout her life. She told the story as she remembered it, without comment or self-judgment on how she felt in 1930 looking back. Thus her life unfolds for the reader as it unfolded for her. Many readers, for example, could possibly be repulsed by the Emma who early in the book, was so caught up in the horrors she saw perpetrated

against the Homestead strikers by Henry Clay Frick that she wholeheartedly joined Alexander Berkman in plotting to kill Frick. She could, in retrospect, still vividly describe her feelings about Frick without any indication of the evolution in her thinking which was to come. Some readers might make the mistake of throwing the book out at this point, thereby missing the events depicting the change in her thinking. As one illustration, she later expressed sympathy for McKinley's assassin when others were denouncing him. Yet, she realized that the assassination was tragic because McKinley was not directly responsible for some of the existing reprehensible social conditions. She coupled that realization with her statement that she would certainly be willing to nurse McKinley the man—not the President—if she had the chance (she was a practical nurse). This evolution of thought away from violence continued throughout her life. It culminated, perhaps, in Russia during her conversation with the Russian author Korolenko, who defined the revolution which must come in humanistic terms (pp. 821-22): "It has always been my conception... that revolution means the highest expression of humanity and justice," a definition with which Goldman agreed.

Although two volumes, the autobiography moves rapidly along, detailing an exciting, full life. The tempo is good. Goldman, while young and vigorous, dominates events in her life or takes them in stride. Yet the mood changes subtly during the Russian nightmare. Events begin to overwhelm her and one can sense her aging and heartache. By the end of the autobiography the rage and force have subsided to reflect a Goldman somewhat subdued, less vigorous, more mellow, but a Goldman who will never be really at home anywhere on earth.

The autobiography is invaluable in its depiction of the life of a rebel. The reader may disagree with her ethical and philosophical ground, but reading about her life can be a broadening experience for anyone who gives her half a chance.

Carolyn Raiser

Carolyn Raiser has a B.A. in English and has pursued studies in history and human liberation as special areas of interest.



The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood. By Gustive O. Larson. (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1971, 322 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index, \$7.50).

Few religious people remember that the concept of the Kingdom of God on earth is political as well as religious. Those who insist on the kingdom do so on the basis of its religious necessity rather than on the merits of centralized political and moral power. People who seek the kingdom on religious merits, without realistic consideration of political conformity, are bound to find themselves challenged. Because of conscience religious men and women are often forced into becoming "Her Majesty's loyal opposition" with such force that loyalty itself is a matter of question. Civil disobedience does in fact become a path of religious obedience; and when people seek kingdoms in the "real world," these loyalties are to be in conflict. When governments impose their conditions upon such kingdoms, the meaning of "rendering unto Caesar" must be reconsidered in a very serious light. Such was the case with the Mormons and the statehood controversy in Utah. Caesar was demanding things that were God's.

This question of religious determination was not a new question in America at that time, but it took on a peculiar set of circumstances in the quest for Utah's statehood. To become a state on federal terms was a bitter pill to be swallowed by those whose dedication to their own convictions had driven them into the desert. The nature of this struggle and some excellent insights into the conditions and events are discussed in Gustive O. Larson's *The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood*. Polygamy is recognized as the focal point of this struggle; and while this

issue is obviously the mask behind which to hide a dozen faces, it was an important symbol of the controversy. The opportunity to connect this "immorality" with the Mormons provided too good a tool to be ignored by the non-Mormon and the non-pioneers in Utah who were struggling, through the statehood movement, to gain control. Early accounts of the battle indicate that not only Brigham Young but large segments of the public believed that decisions concerning slavery had affected—in fact, legalized—polygamy. It was felt that the Cass and Douglass Doctrine, dealing with "squatter sovereignty," gave the Mormons the right to declare polygamy in Utah (*Daily Tribune*, April 20, 1857) and the Dred Scott decisions sanctioned the existence and continuation of polygamy. Now these "twin relics of barbarism (Slavery and Polygamy) can flourish wherever the people will it in any of the territories of the United States" (*Boston Liberator*, August 7, 1857).

Dr. Gustive Larson appears to be particularly concerned with who won the controversy in Utah. Certainly the "Americanization" of Utah took place if—and this is certainly a debatable question—the Mormons were not already Americanized. Certainly the statehood of Utah did give the federal government control in some respects; and the issue of polygamy appears, at least chronologically, to have been related to the settlement. I suspect I would support Dr. Larson's contention, however, that the victory was the Mormons'. The final evaluation of this, of course, must rest with a further discussion of the change in policy of the church in 1889.

The "Americanization" of Utah for Statehood is an interesting and well-developed discussion of this struggle. The struggle was unique both in the intensity of the attack and the determination of the defenders. Larson's account is informative, well documented, and often reflective of new and previously undiscussed material. Such a project is difficult for any writer, yet it is handled with care; the most sensitive of subjects are considered with both determination to tell the story and with a humorous flare that makes the

medicine go down easily. I would recommend this work as a valuable asset to anyone seriously interested in Mormonism, and for that matter, anyone seriously studying American government.

Paul M. Edwards

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The First 100 Years: A History of the Salt Lake Tribune, 1871-1971.
By O. N. Malmquist. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Utah State Historical Society, 1971, 496 pp., \$8.00).

Western newspaper biographies are indeed scarce. It is, therefore, interesting that the city which in 1950 gave us the centennial history of the Mormon-owned *Deseret News* has now given us the centennial history of its second oldest, continuously published newspaper, the *Salt Lake Tribune*. Unfortunately, neither has significantly filled the historiographical void.

Of particular interest to readers of *Courage* is the origin of and the overall purpose of the *Salt Lake Tribune*, a story at the heart of Malmquist's work and one he develops quite well and with remarkable objectivity. Mormons at odds with Brigham Young's absolute ecclesiastical and secular authority but not with church doctrine established in 1868 *The Utah Magazine*, through which they advocated ideas of separation of church and state. Young, considering the *Magazine* harmful to his policies of isolation and insulation, had its originators excommunicated and strongly advised Mormons against reading it. Discontinuing the *Magazine*, the excommunicants, to more effectively effect their goals, launched in 1870 a weekly newspaper, *The Mormon Tribune*, which soon was changed to a daily and renamed the *Salt Lake Tribune*. At this point the original

founders lost control; and the newspaper fell into non-Mormon hands and quickly became openly and unobjectively anti-Mormon, a policy it would maintain for forty years. The *Tribune* aimed to break Young's economic and political grip on his people, but federal help was needed to accomplish this task. The newspaper's strategy was to use the issue of polygamy. Polygamy, whatever it meant to practicing, spiritual-minded Mormons, was sex to eastern Gentiles and therefore could be sensationalized to inflame needed public opinion against the Mormons. This formula ultimately settled the Gentile-Mormon "irrepressible conflict," eliminating the closed economic and political systems of the church. The *Tribune's* influence in bringing about this adjustment was significant; and Malmquist charts the paper's changing role over the years from church antagonist to permanent accommodation of the *Tribune* and church by 1918 and to the combining of the *Tribune* and *Deseret News* production, circulation, and advertising departments in 1952.

Malmquist, a retired political reporter of long service on the *Tribune*, despite his book's subtitle, has written a political history of Utah since 1872, a history too often based on secondary sources. It has been suggested that Malmquist title his work the Political History of Utah as seen in the *Tribune*. I am tempted to suggest the title "Political History of Utah as seen by earlier historians." For example, of the twenty-one footnote citations in the chapter entitled "Polygamy Crusade" sixteen are from Orson Whitney's *History of Utah*. Seemingly no attempt has been made to go to the original sources mentioned by the early writers. In fact at one point, when quoting the *Tribune* itself, Malmquist cited Whitney rather than the *Tribune* files. Despite Malmquist's statement that he did not want to burden the reader with copious quotations, he has filled his book with long, often full-page quotes and in one characteristic chapter we find more than half the pages indented quotations.

One looks in vain for comparisons and contrasts between the *Tribune* and other major western newspapers

outside Salt Lake City. Too much attention is paid to the owners of the *Tribune* at the expense of editors, business managers, and workers. Almost nothing is done with the physical plant, newsprint, circulation, communications, news gathering, and advertisements. To be made aware that like certain New York and San Francisco papers but unlike its local competitor, the Mormon church-owned *Deseret News*,* the *Tribune* advertised San Francisco and Chicago patent medicines that claimed to be able to cure any "Sexual and Seminal disorder such as Gonorrhea, Syphilis and Impotence" would greatly help to characterize the subject of Malmquist's book.

Although Malmquist does not, he could have compared and seen the continuity between the Midwest Mormon experience and that of Utah. Robert Flanders' *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* sees the same problem of church absolutism causing internal rifts within the church in Illinois, and Klaus Hansen in *Quest for Empire* advances the notion that polygamy was only a foil for Joseph Smith's enemies. The *Nauvoo Expositor* had about the same reasons for existing as its later successor, the *Salt Lake Tribune*. Joseph Smith physically destroyed the *Expositor* while Utah church leaders chose a policy of ignoring early Utah anti-Mormon newspapers like the *Valley Tan* and *Union Vedette* as well as the later *Salt Lake Tribune*. It is questionable which policy served the church best.

Monte B. McLaws

*It is interesting to note that the *News* did run many other types of patent medicines as well as liquor, tobacco, coffee and tea ads including those for the big Church-owned cooperative store in Salt Lake City up until 1898.

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Brigham Young—the Man and His Work. By Preston Nibley. (Salt Lake City, Utah: *Deseret News Press*, 1936. Sixth edition, 1970, 553 pp., \$5.95).

In the following words the author reveals in his Foreword that his biography of the famed Mormon leader is to be limited and uncritical:

In compiling this history I soon learned, when I began searching through the source material in the Church Historian's Office, that Brigham Young had told his own story far better than anyone else would or could, and I quickly determined that the proper method of procedure was to quote copiously from his Journal, his sermons and his letters. It was all related there by himself, in his own words.

To the journal history Nibley has added material from the *Millennial Star*, the *Deseret News*, and the *Journal of Discourses*; but in failing to use critical sources he has made the book less notable for its revelations than its deficiencies. Coming on the heels of Stanley P. Hirshon's *The Lion of the Lord* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), it is quite possible that Latter Day Saint Church authorities reissued the book to counter the unflattering New York publication.

Bernard DeVoto held that Young was "a great leader, a great diplomat, a great administrator, and at need a great liar and great scoundrel." Indeed it has been the custom of Brigham's biographers to choose partisan ground. If Hirshon has concentrated on the liar and the scoundrel (as Fawn M. Brodie contended in her *New York Times* book review of *Lion of the Lord*), then Nibley has emphasized his estimable qualities. He has faithfully recorded Young's rise to power in the Quorum of the Twelve, his zeal as a missionary in the eastern states and in England, his skill in directing the great westward migration, his resourcefulness as an empire-builder in the valleys of the mountains, his charismatic leadership for thousands of Saints who looked to him for guidance during his thirty-year term as president of the Utah church.



One looks in vain for the controversial aspects of his life and reign. Writing a book about Brigham Young without reference to polygamy is like writing a book about Sigmund Freud without reference to sex. His many marriages, his court battle with Ann Eliza Webb, his unsuccessful courtship of Julia Deane Hayne, and the multitude of his domestic problems are all ignored. There is nothing on irrigation, nothing on the Deseret Alphabet, and only the briefest mentions of the Reformation and the United Order. Overlooked are the abortive attempts at establishing missions in such faraway lands as China and India. Ignored are the dramatic clashes with Gladdenites, Morrisites, Godbeites, the Walker brothers, and with Orson Pratt.

The reader will find nothing in *The Man and His Work* about Brigham's distillery, which he built in the mouth of Parley's Canyon, or the opening of the Wine Mission in Dixie, or in fact any of the multitudinous business enterprises which enabled the leader to acquire a multimillion-dollar estate. The reader will find no reference to the excitement engendered by his provocative and often questionable doctrinal sermons. Nibley has included brief glimpses of Brigham's confrontation with such distinguished travelers as Horace Greeley and Richard F. Burton but has avoided the humorous appraisals of Mark Twain and Artemus Ward.

The author gives no evidence of being acquainted with earlier books devoted entirely or in part to Young, such as those by Benjamin Ferris, John Hyde, Jules Remy, Catharine Waite, T. B. H. Stenhouse, Edward Tullidge, Dr. W. Wyl, Hubert Howe Bancroft, Frank J. Cannon, M. R. Werner, or Susa Young Gates. It is fortunate for post-Nibley readers (1936) that other books about Brigham Young have appeared, some of high scholarship, such as Ray B. West, Jr., *Kingdom of the Saints* (New York: The Viking Press, 1957); Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958); Wallace Stegner, *The Gathering of Zion* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964).

The book has no bibliography, no footnotes, no appendix, and an in-

adequate index. Typically, there is a listing for Warm Springs Bathhouse but none for Salt Lake Theatre. The volume is more in the style of a polemic than a bona fide history and will please only those who wish to believe that Brigham Young was chief spokesman for God during a large part of the nineteenth century.

LaMar Petersen

LaMar Petersen, in addition to outstanding credentials as a musician, is a member of the Advisory Board of Editors, Utah Historical Quarterly, and the author of two unpublished Mormon studies.



Called and Sent. By Loyd Adams, et al. (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 92 pp., \$2.00, paper).

Called and Sent is an appropriate sequel to Paul Booth's thoughtful contribution of last year. It emphasizes that individuals and the church should operate beyond their customary custodial, consumptive, and proselyting roles. The church is viewed as a moving, dynamic, creative, adaptive, dedicated movement out of the past, operating in the present, and looking toward the future; a prophetic rather than a priestly view of the role of the church. It is a brilliantly clear plea for the church to grapple with the meaningful problems of daily living in the modern world.

Its central message has to do with conversion. Although this word is not commonly used in the text, it might be used because the principles taught give a delightfully new dimension to reconciliation. Commonly thought of as adaptation of certain aspects of our lives to God, reconciliation is here pictured as dynamic, powerful, and inclusive.

A person reconciled to God is a doer. Having accepted God in their life, people become, through God, Christian persons in every aspect of living. Reconciliation is not, therefore, merely a product of the mind or of ritual, not of the heart or even of the spirit. It is a product of all of these which results in new creatures

in action. Converts are both servants and witnesses. They are living shepherds concerned with the totality of their own life, their family, community, the church, their evangelical responsibilities.

Reconciled individuals are creative participants rather than spectators. They have moved from the comfortable and secure feeling of belonging to Christ's restored church—from the role of easy, quick, uninvolved, and conforming consumers to the more soul-satisfying role of independent and responsible stewards. Religion to them is involved in every aspect of their lives and therefore includes the opportunity of reviving or awakening faith in Jesus Christ in the lives of others. Their actions are spontaneous and free, a proclamation of something they have experienced—that which is spiritual in them having become a testimony to the establishment of Zion.

Called and Sent proposes some practical approaches, not only to what characterizes reconciled people, but to how they achieve their present station. It points out that "persons do not possess their heritage merely by having the details of doctrine, history, organization, or scripture transmitted to them." Church education (knowledge, dispositions, and skills) must go beyond cognition and aim toward strengthening individuals and the corporate life of the group. The changes brought about through education should produce dynamic congregations whose training and emphasis are on leadership and mission.

The best explanations of the gospel are seen in terms of the improvement and solidification of relationships within the church and between church members and the world for which Christ died. Worthwhile religious living is outgoing, self-initiated, creative, and free. And it has taken advantage of imagination to apply faith and love to all relationships of life as they are and as they ideally ought to be. It is the responsibility of the church to build women and men who can discover and promote the means of Christian living in the multitudinous circumstances of life.

But neither the church nor individuals can have a profound in-

fluence on the world unless they have developed the strength and skills and possess the imagination to achieve relevancy. This does not come by acceptance of doctrine, the performance of ritual, or smug participation, but through the fulfillment of "struggle at the center of life with identity, worth, and purpose." This means that women and men of knowledge, insights, faith, and love—women and men who are self-movers and initiators and innovators—can serve better than those who lack these characteristics.

Two small and perhaps inconsequential areas of possible improvement need to be mentioned. The manual gives considerable attention to the fact that knowledge and ordinances are not substitutes for faith, love, and performance. But it would appear that the authors have failed to give full recognition to the potential of the nonverbal and therefore potentially profound influence of ritual. The material of worship "contains the power to quicken, interpret, and express" the principles of the gospel and of life. The unique position of ordinances in the Restoration, the understandings and vitalization which come through them, are not dealt with adequately. This is not a plea for a doctrinal discussion but for an insightful application of the relationship of ordinances to the promotion of Christian living.

A further omission of the manual lies in its failure to give more emphasis to joy as motivation for full gospel participation.

The manual should be studied and carefully discussed if its purpose of making the gospel real and contemporary is to be realized. The soul is better satisfied with the kind of creative living recommended in this manual, and the mind will be challenged with its practical suggestions. *Called and Sent* is an inspiring resource book which will surely improve the degree and kind of preparation and increase the aspiration to serve.

Albert L. Payne

Albert L. Payne is an editor with the Seminaries and Institutes of Religion, an agency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints with a focus on higher education ministry.

God/Goddess?

Oh tell me, Shakers and Christian Scientists,
Can there really be a woman prophet?
One who walks with me and talks with me,
One who leads me, bears my sorrows,
Heals my infirmities and opens the heavens
For new visions of celestial kingdoms?

Oh tell me you ecstatic Shakers
Whirling in the spirit,
Can the Godhead take a feminine form?
Can She need me every hour?
Can She chastise the wicked,
Put down the mighty from their seats,
And raise up the humble and the meek?

Is the real God an androgyny?
A confluence of both beings,
A strong femininity
Under the male appearance?
A clear masculinity
Beneath the feminine exterior
Uniting what was and is but One?

Oh Holy Spirit, She and He,
Paragon, paraclete of mystery,
Who both seeds and births,
We kneel in awe
Before the totality
Encompassing all that
We yet may be.

Francis H. Touchet

COMMENTS

To the Editors:

In 1902, and again in 1909, the church was instructed to "accede to the rendition of the bishopric." Quite often we hear this used in a sermon, see it in a letter or article, and always with the intent of good. It has been used so much we possibly have followed blindly instead of asking questions.

It should be possible to open parts of the financing to dialogue without reflecting on any members of the bishopric, past or present.

It is highly improbable that the intent of the two revelations, Doctrine and Covenants 126 and 129, was to place any and all articles of the bishopric under a blanket of approval. It is equally improbable that all future writings could stand as automatically approved. To do so would place a mantle of infallibility around the bishop's shoulder and he certainly wouldn't care for that nor would the membership. Such infallibility isn't accorded to the prophet.

In the *Law of Temporalities* by Bishop DeLapp, President Israel Smith wrote a foreword touching upon this proposition. In his attorney-like way he arrived at the conclusion that two articles were really "the rendition." These were written by Bishop Kelly and Bishop Hilliard and published in the *Herald* under the dates of January 1, 1902, entitled "Duties, Responsibilities, and Faith of the Saints" and May 2, 1903, titled "An Address to the Saints" by the Presidency, Twelve, and Bishopric in joint council. The financial law is presented in these as we understand it today, although without the clearness.

Quoting from "An Address to the Saints," "Offerings for the purpose of helping along worthy undertakings, benevolent enterprises, special educational efforts, incidental expenses to a traveling elder, and church buildings, should be made by all who can do so." This is the only writing found upon which the local branch expenses can be based. Careful searching of the Doctrine and

Covenants doesn't reveal support for the present practices of branch finances. In treating of the tithe, surplus, offerings, and oblation there are sufficient directions. No details are given specifically for financing the branch nor are branches mentioned financially.

One of the major expenses of any branch is the districts' yearly assessment. This is met from contributions through the collection plate or offerings to local expenses. A logical thought at this point is that the district assessment is an assessment against the increase of the tithe-paying member. For that matter the branch expenses could be called the same since that, too, must come from the increase, since one tenth of the increase is the tithe and that is to be receipted for by the solicitor or bishop's agent. All other contributions or offerings for local use must come from the remaining nine tenths. Since that nine tenths is intended for building one's inheritance, it would appear the local church segments are assessing in excess of the tithe.

This brings about a peculiar condition. The tithe belongs to God and goes for support of elders' families, administrative expenses, etc. The moneys for local expenses that come from the remaining nine tenths (although they go to the church) somehow have an aura of belonging to God, since they are His endeavor, and not belonging to Him, since they didn't go to headquarters.

Of course, the scriptures very plainly state that the tithing, along with surplus and offerings, is supposed to be sufficient to finance our church program. Contributions for local purposes are about equal to those for general church. This means that about two tenths of our increase is given for church purposes. That isn't a great deal, especially when some churches consider the tithe to be a tenth of the income instead of one tenth of the increase. Possibly the author of the financial law was making the amount so small to make us realize that we couldn't possibly do anything without continually exercising a strong faith in Him.

If we have gone at variance with the scriptures, it's probably with

cause. The restoration began in a strongly agricultural setting and so fitted, without much effort, to the Old Testament writings on the financial law. We have since changed in the United States so that only about five people in a hundred are agricultural. The rest of us have incomes at so much per hour or year. Some have investments in stocks, bonds, or real estate so that, although a proper accounting can be given, it is different. Possibly the greatest stress on the finances of the church came about during the 1930's. Much retrenching and economizing simply had to be done. Money was scarce. Before that, and again after the depression, were periods of war and also periods of prosperity. It took years for the bishopric to lead us back to solvency and get us on a good financial program. Debt, to honorable people, is a moral obligation. When effort is made to meet such debts under conditions so stressful as those were, maybe we should be surprised that we didn't do worse.

Financing houses of worship by local congregations has a pattern very similar to other church organizations. Bake sales, special offerings, sacrifice offerings, pledges, rummage sales, and other money raising enterprises are used and have been used for years to get the financing wherewithal to build. These have all been effective at different times and without them one would suspect that the Saints wouldn't be as well housed as at present. General Conference action has encouraged the bishopric to make funds available by allocating to the Revolving Loan Fund. Because of such action, and money (at a reasonable rate) being available, the past twenty-five years have seen a vast improvement in church housing.

All of this speaks well of our people except for a technicality: 43:10 of the Doctrine and Covenants says houses of worship should be built from surplus. Since that section came in the early 1830's and things have changed since then, we've probably supposed that it doesn't apply to the present day. *Nothing could be farther from the truth.* In April, 1968, our present-day prophet brought us encouraging word regarding building the temple. A portion of

that message, which is now section 149, reads thusly: "6b. Money for this purpose [building the temple] should come from the consecration of surplus by my people inasmuch as the building of houses of worship is one of the purposes of the Storehouse."

This was enlarged upon so that more could participate at the time of the building by surplus being construed in its wider meaning to include that amount available for special appropriation from the tithes and offerings of the Saints (after budgetary needs of the church have been met) as well as those funds which are consecrated as surplus under the more restrictive use of the term (149 A:5).

By the foregoing surplus is the building of houses of worship monetary source. Or should be. By these scriptures houses of worship are to be built by statement filers who are tithe payers and have either property or money to release that doesn't figure in their stewardship.

Now that raises some questions. Would we be as well housed as at present? Would we have as many congregations? What size buildings and congregations? It also causes one to wonder concerning our spiritual condition if we were to try to follow the letter of the law.

It would require us to encourage each and every adult to be about filing their statement and undertaking a systematic program of paying their tithe. It would call upon us to encourage those more prone to support the local program to heed the council of ages and fall in line. Maybe there are some who don't see the wisdom of so doing but can be encouraged to comply anyway. Some have been baptized and found out later it was a wise move. And few of us have been baptized or obeyed the financial law but what we found that such steps were beginnings to rewarding associations with a power outside ourselves.

We wouldn't consider changing the order of baptism by water and then the laying on of hands. Possibly wisdom dictates that we put ourselves in order where finances are concerned.

Cecil Norwood



To the Editors:

I wonder if it is too late to comment on Mr. Robert B. Flanders' most excellent review of my book, *Nightfall at Nauvoo*, in your winter issue.

I do not in any way wish to quibble with Mr. Flanders, whose standing as a historian is beyond question, and whose book, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi*, is the finest historical treatment of the subject. However, I do feel that some comments on the presentation of church history are in order, for those interested in treading this thorny path or in reading the works of those who do.

An old adage says, "Never jest with strangers." Certainly the fraternity of scholars has completely failed to realize that my tongue was firmly in my cheek when I made my comments about the difference of approach between a historian and a writer. There is truth in jest, however, and Mr. Flanders is entirely correct in assuming that I deplore "the polemical history written by Latter-day Saint apologists." What he fails to realize, however, is that as a professional writer—an author—I belong to an entirely different union than does Mr. Flanders. He is criticizing my book on the basis of what it distinctly is not, rather than for what it is.

I maintain that style, pace, excellence of presentation—in short, literary quality, which is so highly valued by members of the Writers Guild, to which I belong—cannot be brushed aside as non-essential simply because they have no place in the ground rules of the historian's union. I am sure that if I were to insist upon judging Mr. Flanders' book on Nauvoo from a writer's viewpoint, criticizing it on a basis of style, pace, dramatic quality, presentation, and literary excellence, it would be entirely unfair, because he didn't have such goals in mind. It should get high marks for what it is, rather than demerits for what it isn't.

In the matter of minor detail and the spelling of proper names, I don't know any book—including Mr.

Flanders'—which on so large a subject is entirely free from error. A case in point was the spelling of "Wandell Mace." When the publisher queried me on the correct spelling, I admitted that various sources spelled the name as "Wandell," "Wandel," "Wendall," "Wendal," "Wendel," and "Wandal." It was a matter of making a decision and sticking to it. While I misspelled the name of "Alpheus" Cutler, I will point out that on p. 232 of Mr. Flanders' carefully documented book he uses the date of January, 1843, when the event actually was the previous year; on the next page he lists an event as happening in June when actually it was August; on p. 264 there is the incorrect date for John C. Bennett's expulsion from the church; and on p. 265 there are two errors, one in dating and the other obviously a typo, when he states that Bennett's sensational letters to the *Sangamo Journal* "were wisely copied by other western newspapers"—quite obviously he meant to say "widely." Such nit-picking, I am sure, means nothing in an overall appraisal of a book.

Much more serious, I am convinced, is my statement that "History isn't what happened, but what historians have decided to tell about what happened." This doesn't necessarily imply a great conspiracy to deceive. It is more subtle and penetrating than that. "The author scorns the footnote, and has none," Mr. Flanders says of my book; "he dismisses in the text all the paraphernalia of historiography which is the historian's navigation system." This is true and for very good reason: Our internal apologists have contrived an elaborate documentation to support half-truth and distortion. As Juanita Brooks said to me about one of the darlings of our controlled Utah press, "He isn't a historian at all—he is a lawyer, proving a case." And he proves his case time and again, with voluminous footnotes. The historian who follows so contrived a navigation system will be wrecked on hidden shoals.

I was surprised that Mr. Flanders did this upon occasion, particularly in his treatment of Sidney Rigdon, who has been subjected to a hatchet job by Utah historians. At the conference of October, 1843, at Nauvoo,

Joseph Smith accused Rigdon of very serious actions, including betrayal by treacherous correspondence with ex-Governor Carlin. The following day, after investigation, "President Joseph Smith arose and explained to the congregation the supposed treacherous correspondence with ex-Governor Carlin, and expressed entire lack of confidence in his [Rigdon's] integrity and steadfastness. . . ." Such is the conference report as given in "Joseph Smith's History," 6:49. Being a historian, Mr. Flanders accepted this. But, being a writer, I accepted nothing. So I checked with the *Times and Seasons*, the original source, where Joseph is quoted as saying exactly the opposite: "President Smith arose and satisfactorily explained to the congregation the supposed treacherous correspondence with ex-Governor Carlin, which wholly removed suspicion from elder Sidney Rigdon, and from every other person. He expressed entire willingness to have elder Sidney Rigdon retain his station. . . ." This original source entirely disproves the interpolation in the "History" that Joseph said, "I have thrown him off my shoulders, and you have again put him on me. You may carry him but I will not." The prophet simply didn't say such a thing. To accept the false navigation on this single point throws the historian into treacherous shoals—how can he explain that subsequently Joseph chose Rigdon as his running mate in the presidential campaign? The supposed enmity between Joseph and Sidney is quite obviously magnified by subsequent tampering with the "History."

And so I maintained a healthy skepticism of every source, until there was evidence of corroboration.

Let me emphasize that in no way do I wish to criticize Mr. Flanders' excellent book. It is remarkably good and accurate. However, I am pointing out that even he can be caught in the shoals of the false navigational system.

There is no reason that he should know my previous work in the field (and certainly I had nothing to do with *No Strings*). *Nightfall at Nauvoo* happens to be my fifth book with Mormon background, all published in New York for national distribution.

Kenneth B. Hunsaker, writing a survey of LDS literature in *Dialogue*, listed my *Family Kingdom* as "best Mormon biography" and my *Heaven Knows Why* as "best Mormon novel." After twenty years *Family Kingdom* has achieved a certain status in Utah, and another edition is in preparation.

Best regards, and best wishes for the success of your most worthy journal.

Samuel Taylor
Redwood City, California



To the Editors:

Being a newspaper man of lifetime experience, I would be appreciative of a few paragraphs in your journal to make an apology to the Saints for a failure of their brethren of the press to honestly inform them.

Some fraternal brothers of the "Fourth Estate" presumably dedicated to "dig" and disseminate the truth without fear or favor, now and then find their pen hands too tender to handle the blazing facts and drop them like the proverbial "hot potato" to the chagrin of their more staunch and faithful compeers. The *Herald* editors appear to be "moles of truth" and guilty of this infidelity too!

For these brethren, I would like to recall the church's capitulation to Masonry during the dark days of the mid-twenties and record, belatedly, that the proclaimed prophet and other incumbent spiritual leaders, have since addressed the conferential assemblies from the dais under the great oval dome as they looked out upon the masses who came into the church-temple sanctuary through the 32 gates of entry.

Now, do not belittle this fact, dear brothers and sisters—it is vital news!

True to duty our national TV announcers and press men rarely fail to mention the OVAL ROOM as the point of broadcast during a Presidential speech, yet it seems to make no understandable difference to our nescient populace which room the speeches come from. However, where time and space are so precious and

expensive, down to a word or line, this oft repeated phrase must have an important purpose—to those in the know, perhaps, who like to be reassured that the leader of their minority group is at the national apex of power ever conscious of his precarious perch by the shape of the room he occupies and the 32 stepping stones in the adjacent rose garden, among other things, to constantly remind him of the path by which he came and of the obligations that will keep him there.

A minority group of such great influence which conquerors seek to crush immediately after victorious invasion, whose members Hitler ordered Eichmann to identify as his first duty of service to his Fuehrer, whose Grand Master Castro found and executed when he came to power in Cuba, whose members are more common, by far, than any single church affiliation among the executives of our governmental and educational institutions, which is flirting again with the Catholic churches and which still has the "final say so" in most Protestant churches—an underground of such formidable power is too sinister, surely, for a humble little church to dicker with—to anticipate or comprehend.

Certainly, if the Saints cherish the fundamental concepts of charity and sovereignty of the church, the individual and lodge influences of this pagan-rooted fraternity with its symbols, rituals, and trappings must be expelled, and soon, like the discerning church forefathers wanted to do—like Hezekiah did when he ascended the throne long ago.

Will the Providence that used the Catholic establishment to save the infant Christian church from the Gnostics who would have compounded it beyond recognition soon use another such organization to free the Restored Church and its priesthood from the corruptions of Free Masonry? Otherwise, short of the coming of the prophetic "One mighty and strong" to set the church in order, when will the meek and blind get a light of discernment to see the fingermarks of hypocrisy on their chalices of communion?

Oren Allen
Lamoni, Iowa

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